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NATIONAL PLATFORMS

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

REPUBLICAN

DEMOCRATIC

FUSION POPULIST

MID-ROAD POPULIST PARTY

PROHIBITION PARTY

AND

OTHER VALUABLE AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION, COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES

DEMOCRATIC AND FUSION POPULIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

MID-ROAD POPULIST PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

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National Platforms

OF THE

Republican, Democratic
Fusion Populist or Peoples
Mid-Road Populist or Peoples
and Prohibition Parties

And other valuable and statistical information—compiled from official publications.

THIRD EDITION

Copyrighted 1900
By E. L. LOMAX, General Passenger and Ticket Agent,
UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD,
OMAHA, NEBRASKA.

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WILLIAM McKINLEY
Republican Candidate for President

THÉODORE ROOSEVELT
Republican Candidate for Vice-President

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION

AT PHILADELPHIA, PENN., JUNE 20, 1900.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in national convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity; and, appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

PREAMBLE.

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions, which they had themselves produced, than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

PLEDGES FILLED.

The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures —a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value.

The people, by great majorities, issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed.

Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed and everywhere labor is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of 107 years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,091.

TRIUMPH IN WAR.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled.

It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

TRUE TO MCKINLEY.

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation.

Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring, and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs.

The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity when Democratic success at the polls is announced halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

GOLD STANDARD.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency on a gold basis have been secured.

We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged.

The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

AGAINST TRUSTS.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectually restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

PROTECTION.

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market the competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country.

Enjoying the blessings of American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them finally to enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on *favorable terms* for what we do not ourselves produce in return for *free foreign* markets.

FOR LABOR.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

PENSIONS.

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars.

The pension laws, founded in this sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The administration has acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several States.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever *its extension may be* justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican

party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

We favor home rule for and the early admission to Statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

WAR TAXES.

The Dingley act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the government's revenues, and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations, that its newly funded 2 per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

ISTHMIAN CANAL.

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an isthmian canal by the government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet.

The United States consular system should be reorganizad under the supervision of this new department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

The American government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid association, and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

FOREIGN POLICY.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa his course is especially to be commended. By

securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

We commend the part taken by our government in the peace conference at the Hague.

BOER WAR.

We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine. The provisions of The Hague convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic.

While the American government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by The Hague treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorably alike to both contending parties, to determine the strife between them.

PHILIPPINES.

In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands.

That course created our responsibility before the world and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government, and for the performance of international obligations.

Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-goverment consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

PLEDGE TO CUBA.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge *should be performed.*

The Republican party upon its history and upon this declaration *of its principles and policies* confidently invokes the considerate and *approving judgment of the* American people.

Letter of Acceptance of President William McKinley to the Notification Committee.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 8, 1900.

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman Notification Committee:

MY DEAR SIR—The nomination of the Republican convention of June 19, 1900, for the office of president of the United States, which, as the official representative of the convention, you have conveyed to me, is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted and give to it my hearty approval. Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear.

It upholds the gold standard and indorses the legislation of the present congress by which that standard has been effectively strengthened. The stability of our national currency is therefore secure so long as those who adhere to this platform are kept in control of the government.

In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied. They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first was fought and won. While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory financial condition of the government, and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprises, we accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another and we hope a permanent triumph for an honest financial system which will continue inviolable the public faith.

As in 1896, the three silver parties are united, under the same leader who, immediately after the election of that year, in an address to the bimetallists, said:

"The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money changers against the welfare of the human race, and they will continue the warfare against it."

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The Silver Democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so-called gold conspiracy when it expressly says: "We reiterate the demand of that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the *free and unlimited* coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of *16 to 1, without* waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

So the issue is presented. It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

Turning to the other associated parties, we find in the Populist national platform adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900, the following declaration:

"We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired. We re-affirm the demand for the opening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege, granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws."

The platform of the Silver party adopted at Kansas City, July 6, 1900, makes the following announcement:

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the Constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the Constitution itself; and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books, and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrines. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate.

It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power.

Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere. It is therefore the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by *adherence to the silver* issue. Will the American people, through *indifference or fancied* security, hazard the overthrow of the wise *financial legislation of* the past year and revive the danger of the sil-

ver standard, with all of the inevitable evils of shattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896?

The Chicago platform of 1896 is re-affirmed in its entirety by the Kansas City Convention. Nothing has been omitted or recalled; so that all the perils then threatened are presented anew with the added force of a deliberate reaffirmation. Four years ago the people refused to place the seal of their approval upon these dangerous and revolutionary policies, and this year they will not fail to record again their earnest dissent.

The Republican party remains faithful to its principle of a tariff which supplies sufficient revenues for the government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers, and of reciprocity which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor and furnishes new channels through which to market the surplus of American farms. The time-honored principles of protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of Republican victory to be written into public law.

WHAT REPUBLICANS HAVE DONE.

The present Congress has given to Alaska a territorial government for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; has established a representative government in Hawaii; has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows; has revived the free homestead policy. In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of $25,000 for the benefit of villages and rural communities, and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

During the past year more than 19,000,000 of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the treasury, and in addition $25,000,000 of 2 per cents matured, called by the government, are in process of payment. Pacific railroad bonds issued by the government in aid of the roads, in the sum of nearly $44,000,000, have been paid since Dec. 31, 1897. The treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on Sept. 1, $135,419,000, in addition to the $150,000,000 gold reserve held in the treasury. The government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed, $124,421,000 being received from these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater per capita than it has ever been.

It was $2.10 in 1896. It had increased to $26.50 on July 1, 1900, and $26.85 on Sept. 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was $1,506,434,466; on July 1, 1900, it was $2,062,425,490, and $2,096,683,042 on Sept. 1, 1900.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they *have ever been.* Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the re*public.*

I rejoice that the Southern as well as the Northern States are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The money lender receives slower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop, and the labor producing them, have advanced in value.

Our freight trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900 over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899 was about $500,000 for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprises of the people. There has been an increase of over $50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products; $92,692,220 in manufactures, and in the products of the mines of over $10,000,000. Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad $615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad, in 1899 $529,874,813, and in 1900 $544,471,701, making during the three years a total balance in our favor of $1,689,779,190—nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold have been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding into 2 per cent bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents due in 1904, aggregating $840,000,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on Sept. 1 the sum had been increased more than $33,000,000, making in all $330,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over $8,379,520.

The ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1900 were $79,527,060 in excess of its expenditures. While our receipts both from customs and internal revenue, have been greatly increased, our expenditures have been decreasing.

Civil and miscellaneous expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, were nearly $14,000,000 less than in 1899, while on the war account there is a decrease of more than $95,000,000. There were required $8,000,000 less to support the navy this year than last, and the expenditures on account of the Indians were nearly two and three-quarters million dollars less than in 1899. The only two items of increase in the public expenses of 1900 over 1899 are for pensions and interest on the public debt. For 1899 we expended for pensions $139,394,929, and for the fiscal year 1900 our payments on this account amounted to $140,877,316. The net increase of interest on the public debt of 1900 over 1899, required by the war loan, was $263,408.25. *While congress* authorized the government to make a war loan of *$400,000,000 at the beginning* of the war with Spain, only $200,000,000 *of bonds were issued, bearing* 3 per cent interest, which were promptly *and patriotically taken* by our citizens.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenues or increase our expenditures, the congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

"Five years ago we were selling government bonds bearing as high as 5 per cent interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par bearing 2 per cent interest. We are selling our surplus products and lending our surplus money to Europe. One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the past three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations. The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever moneyed stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

THE BOER WAR.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of South Africa, the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well-known traditional policy.

It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the governments of the South African republics, to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that while the South African republics made like request to other powers, the United States is the only one which complied.

The British government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

Ninety-one per cent of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign ship-owners over $165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world and we ought to build them in American ship-yards and man them with American sailors. Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of Congress to this subject in my several annual messages. In that of Dec. 6, 1897, I said:

"Most desirable from every standpoint of national interest and patriotism is the effort to extend our foreign commerce. To this end our merchant marine should be improved and enlarged. We should do our full share of the carrying trade of the world. We do not do it now. We should be the laggard no longer."

In my message of Dec. 5, 1899, I said:

"Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country

maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth.

"The past year has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards and the promises of continual prosperity in shipbuilding are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the government and since, shows results for the past fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and bind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world.

I now reiterate these views.

A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway of commerce between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our Eastern and Western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government; and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

AS TO TRUSTS.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check the evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several states should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject.

Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment, and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workingmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of *the government* would be disastrous to their highest interests with *prosperity at home and an* increasing foreign market.

With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for

American products, employment should continue to wait upon American labor, and with the present gold standard the workingman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency.

For labor a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessens the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence; the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

Practical civil service reform has always had the support and encouragement of the Republican party. The future of the merit system is safe in its hands.

During the present administration, as occasions have arisen for modification or amendment in the existing civil service laws and rules they have been made. Important amendments were promulgated by executive order under date of May 29, 1899, having for their principal purpose the exception from competitive examination of certain places involving fiduciary responsibilities or duties of a strictly confidential, scientific or executive character, which it was thought might better be filled either by non-competitive examination or by other tests of fitness in the discretion of the appointing officer. It is gratifying that the experience of more than a year has vindicated these changes in the marked improvement of the public service.

The merit system, as far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments to office in our new territory.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors and marines who have in every time of conflict fought their country's battles and defended its honor. The survivors, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen, are justly entitled to receive the generous and considerate care of the nation. Few are now left of those who fought in the Mexican war, and while many of the veterans of the Civil war are still spared to us, their numbers are rapidly diminishing and age and infirmity are increasing their dependence. These, with the soldiers of the Spanish war, will not be neglected by their grateful countrymen. The pension laws have been liberal. They should be justly administered, and will be. Preference should be given to the soldiers, sailors and marines, their widows and orphans, with respect to employment in the public service.

CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

We have been in possession of Cuba since the 1st of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquillity. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled and under it officers have been

chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 43,000 soldiers to less than 6,000. An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September, under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention by the same order is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest.

All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba. We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other.

Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States, and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island. While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, Congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on the first day of May last, 85 per cent of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent on the 1st of March, 1902, or earlier if the legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During the intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of 15 per cent of the rates under the Dingley act, and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate. The duties thus paid and collected both in Porto Rico and the United States are paid to the government of Porto Rico, and no part thereof is taken by the national government.

All the duties from Nov. 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the sum of $2,250,253.21, paid at the custom houses in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above-mentioned act of Congress, have gone into the treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes.

In addition to this we have expended for relief, education and improvement of roads the sum of $1,513,084.95. The United States military force in the island has been reduced from 11,000 to 1,500, and native Porto Ricans constitute for the most part the local *constabulary.*

Under the new law and the inauguration of civil government *there has been a gratifying* revival of business. The manufacturers

of Porto Rico are developing; her imports are increasing; her tariff is yielding increased returns; her fields are being cultivated; free schools are being established. Notwithstanding the many embarassments incident to a change of national conditions she is rapidly showing the effects of her new relations to this nation.

THE PHILIPPINES.

For the sake of a full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question, and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, I present at some length the events of importance leading up to the present situation. The purposes of the executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing. It will be seen that the power of the government has been used for the liberty, the peace and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and that force has been employed only against force, which stood in the way of the realization of these ends.

On the 25th day of April, 1898, Congress declared that a state of war existed between Spain and the United States. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila bay. On May 19, 1898, Maj. Gen. Merritt, U. S. A., was placed in command of the military expedition to Manila, and directed among other things to immediately "publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines, nor upon any part or faction of them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection.

On July 3, 1898, the Spanish fleet in attempting to escape from Santiago harbor was destroyed by the American fleet, and on July 17, 1898, the Spanish garrison in the city of Santiago surrendered to the commander of the American forces.

Following these brilliant victories, on the 12th day of August, 1898, upon the initiative of Spain, hostilities were suspended and a protocol was signed with a view to arranging terms of peace between the two governments. In pursuance thereof I appointed as commissioners the following distinguished citizens to conduct the negotiations on the part of the United States; Hon. William R. Day of Ohio, Hon. William P. Frye of Maine, Hon. Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, Hon. George Gray of Delaware and Hon. Whitelaw Reid of New York. In addressing the peace commission before its departure for Paris I said:

"It is my wish that throughout the negotiations intrusted to the commission the purpose and spirit with which the United States accepted the unwelcome necessity of war should be kept constantly in view. We took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations. We had

no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest. Through the long course of repeated representations which preceded and aimed to avert the struggle and in the final arbitrament of force this country was impelled solely by the purpose of relieving grievous wrongs and removing long-existing conditions which disturbed its tranquillity, which shocked the moral sense of mankind and which could no longer be endured.

"It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action. . . .

"Our aims in the adjustment of peace should be directed to lasting results and to the achievement of the common good under the demands of civilization, rather than to ambitious designs. . . .

"Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms in Manila imposes upon us obligations which we can not disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our efforts, and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities, which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

On October 28, 1898, while the peace commission was continuing negotiations in Paris, the following additional instruction was sent:

"It is imperative upon us that as victors we should be governed only by motives which will exalt our nation. Territorial expansion should be our least concern; that we shall not shirk the moral obligations of our victory is of the greatest. It is undisputed that Spain's authority is permanently destroyed in every part of the Philippines. To leave any part in her feeble control now would increase our difficulties and be opposed to the interests of humanity. . . . Nor can we permit Spain to transfer any part of the islands to another power. Nor can we invite another power or powers to join the United States in sovereignty over them. We must either hold them or turn them back to Spain.

"Consequently, grave as are the responsibilities, and unforeseen as are the difficulties which are before us, the president can see but one plain path of duty, the acceptance of the archipelago. Greater difficulties and more serious complications—administrative and international—would follow any other course. The president has given to the views of the commissioners the fullest consideration, and in reaching the conclusion above announced in the light of information communicated to the commission and to the president since your departure, he has been influenced by the single consideration of duty and humanity. The president is not unmindful of the distressed *financial condition* of Spain, and whatever consideration the United

States may show must come from its sense of generosity and benevolence, rather than from any real or technical obligation."

Again, on November 18, I instructed the commission:

"From the standpoint of indemnity both the archipelagoes (Porto Rico and the Philippines) are insufficient to pay our war expenses, but aside from this do we not owe an obligation to the people of the Philippines which will not permit us to return them to the sovereignty of Spain? Could we justify ourselves in such a course, or could we permit their barter to some other power? Willing or not, we have the responsibility of duty, which we cannot escape. . . . The president cannot believe any division of the archipelago can bring us anything but embarrassment in the future. The trade and commercial side, as well as the indemnity side for the cost of the war, are questions we might yield. They might be waived or compromised, but the questions of duty and humanity appeal to the President so strongly that he can find no appropriate answer but the one he has here marked out."

The treaty of peace was concluded on Dec. 10, 1898. By its terms the archipelago, known as the Philippine Islands, was ceded by Spain to the United States.

It was also provided that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." Eleven days thereafter, on Dec. 21, the following direction was given to the commander of our forces in the Philippines:

" . . . The military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine islands that in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants, and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of the persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights."

PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I appointed in January, 1899, a commission consisting of Hon. Jacob Gould Schurman of New York, Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N., Hon. Charles Denby of Indiana, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, and Maj. Gen. Elwell Otis, U. S. A. Their instructions contained the following:

"In the performance of this duty the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the earliest possible day in the city of Manila and to an-

nounce by public proclamation their presence and the mission intrusted to them, carefully setting forth that, while the military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons and of property by such means as may be found conducive to these ends.

"The commissioners will endeavor, without interference with the military authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report . . . the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful.

"The commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive information or suggestions valuable for the purposes of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose. . . .

"It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the government of the United States. It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honored and authorized representatives of the American republic, duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation."

TREATY RATIFIED.

On the 6th of February, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the senate of the United States, and the congress immediately appropriated $20,000,000 to carry out its provisions. The ratifications were exchanged by the United States and Spain on the 11th of April, 1899.

As early as April, 1899, the Philippine commission, of which Dr. Schurman was president, endeavored to bring about peace in the islands by repeated conferences with leading Tagalos representing the so-called insurgent government, to the end that some general plan of government might be offered them which they would accept. So great was the satisfaction of the insurgent commissioners with the form of government proposed by the American commissioners that the latter submitted the proposed scheme to me for approval, and my action thereon is shown by the cable message following:

"May 5, 1899.—Schurman, Manila: Yours 4th received. You are

authorized to propose that under the military power of the president, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine islands shall consist of a governor general appointed by the president; cabinet appointed by the governor general; a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined; and the governor general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the president. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The president earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Phllippine islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order."

In the latter part of May another group of reprsentatives came from the insurgent leader. The whole matter was fully discussed with them, and promise of acceptance seemed near at hand. They assured onr commissioners they would return after consulting with their leader, but they never did.

As a result of the views expressed by the first Tagal representative favorable to the plan of the commission it appears that he was, by military order of the insurgent leader, stripped of his shoulder straps, dismissed from the army and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

The views of the commission are best set forth in their own words:

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat."

"It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met with force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

After the most thorough study of the peoples of the archipelago the commission reported, among other things:

"Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to co-operate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs, from Manila as a center, and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary), the administration of provincial and municipal affairs.

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers, and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable.

"Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails; and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the people of the Philippine islands."

Satisfied that nothing further could be accomplished in pursuance of their mission until the rebellion was suppressed, and desiring to place before the Congress the result of their observations, I requested the commission to return to the United States. Their most intelligent and comprehensive report was submitted to Congress.

SECOND COMMISSION.

In March, 1900, believing that the insurrection was practically ended and earnestly desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelago, I appointed the following civil commission:

Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Hon. Luke I. Wright of Tennessee, Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont and Hon. Bernard Moses of California. My instructions to them contained the following:

"You (the Secretary of War) will instruct the commission to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty. . . . . Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you (the Secretary of War), with their recommendation as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control. . . .

"Beginning with the 1st day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is *of a legislative nature* is to be transferred from the military governor *of the islands to this commission*, to be thereafter exercised by them *in the place and stead of* the military governor, under such rules and

regulations as you (the Secretary of War) shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil government for the islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph, or until Congress shall otherwise provide. Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders having the effect of law for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs, duties and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of the public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character. The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for."

HUMANE RULES.

Unless Congress shall take action, I directed that: "Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules: That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitute shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder or ex-post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. . . .

"It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship, and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. . . . Especial attention should be at

once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language. . . .

"Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe, not merely the material, but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

"The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words:

" 'This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army.'

"I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity, to all the people of the Philippine islands.

"I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to the American arms in Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and protection of the people of the United States."

AMNESTY GRANTED.

That all might share in the regeneration of the islands and participate in their government, I directed Gen. McArthur, the military governor of the Philippines, to issue a proclamation of amnesty, which contained among other statements the following:

Manila, P. I., June 21, 1900.—By direction of the President of the United States the undersigned announces amnesty with complete immunity for the past and absolute liberty of action for the future to all persons who are now, or at any time since Feb. 4, 1899, have been in insurrection against the United States, in either a military or civil capacity, and who shall within a period of ninety days from the date hereof formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a declaration acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty and authority of the United States in and over the Philippine Islands. The privilege herewith published is extended to all concerned without any reservation whatever, excepting that persons who have violated the laws of war during the period of active hostilities are not embraced within the scope of this amnesty. . . .

"In order to mitigate as much as possible consequences resulting *from the various disturbances* which since 1896 have succeeded each *other so rapidly, and* to provide in some measure for destitute Filipino soldiers during the transitory period which must inevitably suc-

ceed a general peace, the military authorities of the United States will pay 30 pesos to each man who presents a rifle in good condition."

Under their instructions the commission, composed of representative Americans of different sections of the country and from different political parties, whose character and ability guarantee the most faithful intelligence and patriotic service, are now laboring to establish a stable government under civil control, in which the inhabitants shall participate, giving them opportunity to demonstrate how far they are prepared for self-government.

This commission, under date of August 21, 1900, makes an interesting report, from which I quote the following extracts:

"Hostility against Americans was originally aroused by absurd falsehoods of unscrupulous leaders. The distribution of troops in three hundred posts has by contact largely dispelled hostility and steadily improved the temper of the people. This improvement is furthered by abuses of insurgents. Large numbers of people long for peace and are willing to accept government under the United States. Insurgents not surrendering after defeat divided into small guerrilla bands under general officers or become robbers. Nearly all of the prominent generals and politicians of the insurrection except Aguinaldo have since been captured or have surrendered and taken the oath of allegiance. . . All Northern Luzon except two provinces substantially free from insurgents. People busy planting and asking for municipal organization. Railway and telegraph line from Manila to Dagupan, 122 miles, not molested for five months. . . . Tagals alone active in leading guerrilla warfare. In Negros, Cebu, Romblon, Masbate, Sibuyan, Tablas, Bohol and other Philippine islands little disturbance exists and civil government eagerly awaited. . . . Four years of war and lawlessness in parts of islands have created unsettled conditions. . . . Native constabulary and militia, which should be organized at once, will end this and the terrorism to which defenseless people are subjected. The natives desire to enlist in these organizations. If judiciously selected and officered, will be efficient forces for maintenance of order and will permit early material reduction of United States troops. . . . Turning islands over to coterie of Tagal politicians will blight fair prospects of enormous improvement; drive out capital, make life and property, secular and religious, most insecure; banish by fear of cruel proscription considerable body of conservative Filipinos who have aided Americans in well-founded belief that their people are not now fit for self-government, and reintroduce the oppression and corruption which existed in all provinces under Malolos' insurgent government during the eight months of its control.

The result will be factional strife between jealous leaders, chaos and anarchy, and will require and justify active intervention of our government or some other. . . .

"Business interrupted by war much improved as peace extends. . . . *In Negros* more sugar in cultivation than ever before. New *forestry regulations* give impetus to timber trade and reduce high

price of lumber. The customs collections for last quarter 50 per cent greater than ever in Spanish history, and August collections show further increase. The total revenue for same period one-third greater than in any quarter under Spain, though cedula tax, chief source of Spanish revenue, practically abolished. Economy and efficiency of military government have created surplus fund of six million dollars, which should be expended in much needed public works, notably improvement of Manila harbor. . . . With proper tariff and facilities Manila will become great port of Orient."

The commission is confident that "by a judicious customs law, reasonable land tax and proper corporation franchise tax, imposition of no greater rate than that in average American states, will give less annoyance, and with peace will produce revenues sufficient to pay expenses of efficient goverment, including militia and constabulary." They "are preparing a stringent civil service law, giving equal opportunity to Philipinos and Americans, with preference for former where qualifications are equal, to enter at lowest rank and by promotion reach head of department. . . . Forty-five miles of railroad extension under negotiation will give access to a large province rich in valuable minerals, a mile high, with strictly temperate climate. . . . Railroad construction will give employment to many and communication will furnish market to vast stretches of rich agricultural lands."

They report that there are "calls from all parts of the islands for public schools, school supplies and English teachers, greater than the commission can provide until a comprehensive school system is organized. Night schools for teaching English to adults are being established in response to popular demand. Native children show aptitude in learning English. Spanish is spoken by a small fraction of people and in a few years the medium of communication in the courts, public offices and between different tribes will be English; creation of central government within eighteen months, under which substantially all rights described in the bill of rights in the Federal Constitution are to be secured to the people of the Philippines, will bring to them contentment, prosperity, education and political enlightment."

This shows to my countrymen what has been and is being done to bring the benefits of liberty and good government to these wards of the nation.

Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our agrandizement nor for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization, and for the protection of the vast majority of the population who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army was to enter the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous *designs.*

Nobody who will avail himself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldiers and the insurgents, or that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Manila they had resolved if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the Spanish army, they would later turn upon us, which they did, murderously and without the shadow of cause or justification. There may be those without the means of full information who believe that we were in alliance with the insurgents and that we assured them that they should have full independence. To such let me repeat the facts: On the 26th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey was instructed by me to make no alliance with any party or faction in the Philippines that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future, and he replied under date of June 6, 1898: "Have acted according to spirit of department's order from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defense of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession." In the report of the first Philippine commission, submitted on November 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said:

"No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

Gen. Merritt arrived in the Philippines on July 25, 1898, and a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the government at Washington said: "Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with the insurgents under Aguinaldo, who have become aggressive and even threatening toward our army." Here is revealed the spirit of the insurgent as early as July, 1898, before the protocol was signed, while we were still engaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

On Aug. 13 Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine Commission says: "When the city of Manila was taken Aug. 13, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view to looting the city, and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city; he demanded of Gen. Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manila; also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. All these demands were refused.

Generals Merritt, Greene and Anderson, who were in command at the beginning of our occupation, and until the surrender of Manila, stated that there was no alliance with the insurgents, and no promise to them of independence. On Aug. 17, 1898, Gen. Merritt was instructed that there must be no joint occupation of Manila with the insurgents. Gen. Anderson, under date of Feb. 10, 1900, says that he

was present at the interview between Admiral Dewey and the insurgent leader, and that in this interview Admiral Dewey made no promises whatever. He adds: "He (Aguinaldo) asked me if my government was going to recognize his government. I answered that I was there simply in a military capacity; that I could not acknowledge his government because I had no authority to do so."

AMERICA'S DUTY.

Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of Gen. Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practicable moment?

And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name? Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate of the United States?

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The Congress has not seen fit to do the one or the other, and the President had no authority to do either, if he had been so inclined, which he was not. So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

It has been asserted that there would have been no fighting in the Philippines if Congress had declared its purpose to give independence to the Tagal insurgents. The insurgents did not wait for the action of Congress. They assumed the offensive; they opened fire on our army. Those who assert our responsibility for the beginning of the conflict have forgotten that before the treaty was ratified in the Senate, and while it was being debated in that body, and while the Bacon resolution was under discussion, on February 4, 1899, the insurgents attacked the American army, after being previously advised that the American forces were under orders not to fire upon them except in defense. The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that this attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred. Their unprovoked assault upon our soldiers at a time when the Senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action upon our part except surrender

and abandonment would have prevented the fighting, and leaves no doubt in any fair mind of where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

With all the exaggerated phrase-making of this electoral contest, we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention.

We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the responsibilities imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it.

That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

DEMOCRATS AND THE TREATY.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty and the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised Senators and representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose then it should be promptly disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago, the complete independence of the Tagal people recognized and the powers of government over all the other peoples of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagal leaders.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion and increases the necessity for the continuance of a larger army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by Gen. MacArthur under my direction. But for these false hopes, a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines, and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

The American people are asked by our opponents to yield the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines to a small fraction of the population, a single tribe out of eighty or more inhabiting the archipelago; a faction which wantonly attacked the American troops in Manila while in rightful possession under the protocol with

Spain, awaiting the ratification of the treaty of peace by the senate, and which has since been in active, open rebellion against the United States. We are asked to transfer our sovereignty to a small minority in the islands without consulting the majority, and to abandon the largest portion of the population, which has been loyal to us, to the cruelties of the guerrilla insurgent bands. More than this, we are asked to protect this minority in establishing a government and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereignty and fired upon our soldiers, and then maintain it at any cost or sacrifice against its enemies within and against those having ambitious designs from without.

This would require an army and navy far larger than is now maintained in the Philippines and still more in excess of what will be necessary with the full recognition of our sovereignty. A military support of authority not our own as thus proposed is the very essence of militarism, which our opponents in their platform oppose, but which by their policy would of necessity be established in its most offensive form.

NO SURRENDER OF RIGHTS.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the republic to convey the blessings of liberty and order to the Philippines. They will not make them the builders of the new commonwealth. Such a course would be a betrayal of our sacred obligations to the peaceful Filipinos, and would place at the mercy of dangerous adventurers the lives and property of the natives and foreigners. It would make possible and easy the commission of such atrocities as were secretly planned to be executed on the 22d of February, 1899, in the city of Manila, when only the vigilance of our army prevented the attempt to assassinate our soldiers and all foreigners and pillage and destroy the city and its surroundings. In short, the proposition of those opposed to us is to continue all the obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety. Our responsibility is to be no less, but our title is to be surrendered to another power, which is without experience or training, or the ability to maintain a stable government at home and absolutely helpless to perform its international obligations with the rest of the world.

To this we are opposed. We should not yield our title while our obligations last. In the language of our platform, "Our authority should not be less than our responsibility," and our present responsibility is to establish our authority in every part of the islands.

No government can so certainly serve the peace, restore public order, establish law, justice and stable conditions as ours. Neither Congress nor the executive can establish a stable government in the islands except under our right of sovereignty, our authority and *our flag.* And this we are doing.

We could not do it as a protectorate power so completely or so *successfully as we are doing* it now. As the sovereign power we can

initiate action and shape means to ends, and guide the Filipinos to self-development and self-government. As a protectorate power we could not initiate action, but would be compelled to follow and uphold a people with no capacity yet to go alone. In the one case we can protect both ourselves and the Filipinos from being involved in dangerous complications; in the other we could not protect even the Filipinos until after their trouble had come. Besides, if we cannot establish any government of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable government for them or make ours a protectorate without the like consent, and neither the majority of the people nor a minority of the people have invited us to assume it. We could not maintain a protectorate even with the consent of the governed without giving provocation for conflicts and possibly costly wars. Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference, and will continue so in our present relation. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to guarantee another sovereignty.

Our title is good. Our peace commissioners believed they were receiving a good title when they concluded the treaty. The executive believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the Senate of the United States for its ratification. The Senate believed it was a good title when they gave it their constitutional assent, and the Congress seem not to have doubted its completeness when they appropriated $20,000,000 provided by the treaty. If any who favored its ratification believed it gave us a bad title they were not sincere. Our title is practically indentified with that under which we hold our territory acquired since the beginning of the government, and under which we have exercised full sovereignty and established a government for the inhabitants.

It is worthy of note that no one outside of the United States disputes the fullness and integrity of the cession.

THE REAL ISSUE.

What, then, is the real issue on this subject? Whether it is paramount to any other or not, it is whether we shall be responsible for the government of the Philippines, with the sovereignty and authority which enables us to guide them to regulated liberty, law, safety and progress, or whether we shall be responsible for the forcible and arbitrary government of a minority without sovereignty and authority on our part, and with only the embarrassment of a protectorate which draws us into their troubles without the power of preventing them.

There were those who two years ago were rushing us on to war with Spain who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequence, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when *they make treaties* must keep them.

Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified.

Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is a rock upon which the Republican party was builded and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars expended to make it a lawful legacy of all without the consent of master or slave.

There is a strain of ill-concealed hypocrisy in the anxiety to extend the constitutional guarantees to the people of the Philippines while their nullification is openly advocated at home. Our opponents may distrust themselves, but they have no right to discredit the good faith and patriotism of the majority of the people who are opposing them; they may fear the worst form of imperialism with the helpless Filipinos in their hands, but if they do, it is because they have parted with the spirit and faith of the fathers and have lost the virility of the founders of the party which they profess to represent.

The Republican party doesn't have to assert its devotion to the Declaration of Independence. That immortal instrument of the founders remained unexecuted until the people, under the lead of the Republican party in the awful clash of battle, turned its promises into fulfillment.

It wrote into the Constitution the amendments guaranteeing political equality to American citizenship, and it has never broken them or counseled others in breaking them. It will not be guided in its conduct by one set of principles at home and another set in the new territory belonging to the United States.

If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions at home or their frightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats.

Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen. The flag of the republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of liberty, education and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy or imperialism?

The American question is between duty and desertion—the American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the republic is against both anarchy and imperialism.

AS TO CHINA.

The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to as already defined.

The nation is filled with gratitude that the little band, among them many of our own blood, who for months have been subjected to *privations* and perils by the attacks of pitiless hordes at the Chinese

capital, exhibiting supreme courage in the face of despair, have been enabled by God's favor to greet their rescuers and find shelter under their own flag.

The people not alone of this land, but of all lands, have watched and prayed through the terrible stress and protracted agony of the helpless sufferers in Pekin, and while at times the dark tidings seemed to make all hope vain the rescuers never faltered in the heroic fulfillment of their noble task.

We are grateful to our own soldiers and sailors and marines, and to all the brave men who, though assembled under many standards, representing peoples and races strangers in country and speech, were yet united in the sacred mission of carrying succor to the besieged, with a success that is now the cause of a world's rejoicing.

Not only have we reason for thanksgiving for our material blessings, but we should rejoice in the complete unification of the people of all sections of our country that has so happily developed in the last few years and made for us a more perfect union.

The obliteration of old differences, the common devotion to the flag and the common sacrifices for its honor, so conspicuously shown by the men of the North and South in the Spanish war, have so strengthened the ties of friendship and mutual respect that nothing can ever again divide us. The nation faces the new century gratefully and hopefully, with increasing love of country, with firm faith in its free institutions and with high resolves that they "shall not perish from the earth." Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN
Democratic Candidate for President

ADLAI E. STEVENSON
Democratic Candidate for Vice-President

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION

AT KANSAS CITY, MO., JULY 5, 1900.

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in national convention, on the anniversary of the adoption of the declaration of independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man, and our allegiance to the constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the declaration of independence is the spirit of our government, of which the constitution is the form and letter.

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it, or in violation of it.

We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

PORTO RICO LAW DENOUNCED.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the

Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law, and a flagrant breach of the national good faith.

It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent, and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding General of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity.

In this, the first act of its imperialistic programme, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy, inconsistent with Republican institutions, and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

PLEDGES TO THE CUBANS.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignity, jurisdiction, or control over the Island of Cuba, except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet-bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory, to the disgrace of the American people.

THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot become citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot become subjects without imperiling our form of government, and we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire; we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and, third, protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into states in the Union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens.

We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine" is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the Eastern hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

OPPOSITION TO MILITARISM.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties.

A small standing army with a well-disciplined state militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription.

When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The national guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety.

For the first time in our history and co-evil with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-*honored and approved* system of volunteer organization. We

denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic, and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

TRUSTS DENOUNCED.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed.

The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in state and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies; that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic party to an increasing warfare in nation, state, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside the state of their origin, that they have no water in their stock and that they have not attempted and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts.

Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books, proves the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignity which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

DECLARATION FOR 16 TO 1.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system, made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

CURRENCY LAW DENOUNCED.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last sessison of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit.

A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is therefore a scheme for fastening upon taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks.

We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal-tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

SENATORS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE.

We favor an amendment to the Federal constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist, and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employes.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

In the interest of American labor and the uplifting of the workingmen, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we *recommend* that Congress create a department of labor, in charge of *a secretary, with a seat* in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation

of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

PENSIONS.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaragua canal by the United States and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the national Republican platform for an Isthmian canal in face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests, not to be tolerated by the American people.

STATEHOOD FOR THE TERRITORIES.

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges, to grant statehood to the territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those territories immediate statehood and home rule during their condition as territories, and we favor home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

ARID LANDS.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

CHINESE EXCLUSION LAW.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none."

We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS.

Believing in the principles of self-government, and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking, as we do, for the entire American nation except its Republican officeholders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathy to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

REPUBLICAN APPROPRIATIONS.

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies.

SHIP-SUBSIDY BILL.

We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such bare-faced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which under the false pretense of prospering American ship-building, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund.

REPEAL OF THE WAR TAXES.

We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes, and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

CONCLUDING PLEA TO THE PEOPLE.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

Letter of Acceptance of William J. Bryan, Democratic Candidate for President, to the Notification Committee.

LINCOLN, Neb., Sept. 17, 1900.

Hon. James D. Richardson, Chairman, and Others of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention:

GENTLEMEN: In accepting the nomination tendered by you on behalf of the Democratic party, I beg to assure you of my appreciation of the great honor conferred upon me by the delegates in convention assembled, and by the voters who gave instructions to the delegates.

I am sensible of the responsibilities which rest upon the chief magistrate of so great a nation, and realize the far-reaching effect of the questions involved in the present contest.

In my letter of acceptance of 1896 I made the following pledge:

"So deeply am I impressed with the magnitude of the power vested by the Constitution in the chief executive of the nation and with the enormous influence which he can wield for the benefit or injury of the people, that I wish to enter the office, if elected, free from any personal desire, except the desire to prove worthy of the confidence of my countrymen. Human judgment is fallible enough when unbiased by selfish considerations, and, in order that I may not be tempted to use the patronage of the office to advance my personal ambition, I hereby announce, with all the emphasis which words can express, my fixed determination not, under any circumstances, to be a candidate for re-election, in case this campaign results in my election."

Further reflection and observation constrain me to renew this pledge.

CORDIALLY APPROVES THE KANSAS CITY PLATFORM.

The platform adopted at Kansas City commands my cordial and unqualified approval. It courageously meets the issues now before the country, and states clearly and without ambiguity the party's position on every question considered. Adopted by a convention which assembled on the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, it breathes the spirit of candor, independence and patriotism which characterizes those who, at Philadelphia in 1776, promulgated the creed of the Republic.

Having in my notification speech discussed somewhat at length the paramount issue, imperialism, and added some observations on militarism and the Boer war, it is sufficient at this time to review the remaining planks of the platform.

TRUST QUESTION IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE.

The platform very properly gives prominence to the trust question. The appalling growth of combinations in restraint of trade during the present administration proves conclusively that the R-

publican party lacks either the desire or the ability to deal with the question effectively.

If, as may be fairly assumed from the speeches and conduct of the Republican leaders, that party does not intend to take the people's side against these organizations, then the weak and qualified condemnation of trusts to be found in the Republican platform is designed to distract attention while industrial despotism is completing its work. A private monopoly has always been an outlaw. No defense can be made of an industrial system in which one or a few men can control for their own profit the output or price of any article of merchandise.

Under such a system the consumer suffers extortion; the producer of raw material has but one purchaser, and must sell at the arbitrary price fixed; the laborer has but one employer, and is powerless to protest against injustice, either in wages or in conditions of labor; the small stockholder is at the mercy of the speculator, while the traveling salesman contributes his salary to the overgrown profits of the trust.

PLEDGES WAR ON PRIVATE MONOPOLY.

Since but a small proportion of the people can share in the advantages secured by private monopoly, it follows that the remainder of the people are not only excluded from the benefits, but are the helpless victims of every monopoly organized. It is difficult to overestimate the immediate injustice that may be done, or to calculate the ultimate effect of this injustice upon the social and political welfare of the people.

Our platform, after suggesting certain specific remedies, pledges the party to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly in Nation, State and city.

I heartily approve of this promise; if elected, it shall be my earnest and constant endeavor to fulfill the promise in letter and spirit. I shall select an Attorney-General who will, without fear or favor, enforce existing laws.

A TRUST BREEDING MEASURE.

I shall recommend such additional legislation as may be necessary to dissolve every private monopoly which does business outside of the state of its origin; and, if contrary to my belief and hope, a constitutional amendment is found to be necessary, I shall recommend such an amendment as will, without impairing any of the existing rights of the states, empower Congress to protect the people of all the states from injury at the hands of individuals or corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

The platform accurately describes the Dingley tariff law, when it condemns it as a "trust breeding measure, skillfully devised to give to the few favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear."

Under its operation trusts can plunder the people of the United *States, while they* successfully compete in foreign markets with

manufacturers of other countries. Even those who justify the general policy of protection will find it difficult to defend a tariff which enables a trust to exact an exorbitant toll from the citizen.

PROTEST AGAINST CORPORATIONS.

The Democratic party makes no war upon honestly acquired wealth; neither does it seek to embarrass corporations engaged in legitimate business, but it does protest against corporations entering politics and attempting to assume control of the instrumentalities of government. A corporation is not organized for political purposes and should be compelled to confine itself to the business described in its charter.

Honest corporations, engaged in an honest business will find it to their advantage to aid in the enactment of such legislation as will protect them from the undeserved odium which will be brought upon them by those corporations which enter the political arena.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW.

The Republican party has persistently refused to comply with the urgent request of the Interstate Commerce Commission, for such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to realize the hopes aroused by its creation.

The Democratic party is pledged to legislation which will empower the commission to protect individuals and communities from discrimination, and the public at large from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

THE FINANCIAL PLANK.

The platform reiterates the demand contained in the Chicago platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves.

The purpose of such a system is to restore and maintain a bimetallic level of prices, and in order that there may be no uncertainty as to the method of restoring bimetallism, the specific declaration in favor of free and unlimited coinage at the existing ratio of 16 to 1, independent of the action of other nations, is repeated.

In 1896 the Republican party recognized the necessity of bimetallism by pledging the party to an earnest effort to secure an international agreement for the free coinage of silver, and the president, immediately after his inauguration, by authority of Congress, appointed a commission composed of distinguished citizens to visit Europe and solicit foreign aid.

FAVORED DOUBLE STANDARD.

Secretary Hay, in a letter written to Lord Aldenham in November, 1898, and afterward published in England, declared that at that time the president and a majority of his cabinet still believed in the great desirability of an international agreement for the restoration of the double standard, but that it did not seem opportune to re-open negotiations just then.

The financial law enacted less than a year ago contains a con-

cluding section declaring that the measure was not intended to stand in the way of the restoration of bimetallism, whenever it could be done by co-operation with other nations. The platform submitted to the last Republican convention with the indorsement of the administration again suggested the possibility of securing foreign aid in restoring silver.

REPUBLICANS SUDDENLY CHANGE.

Now the Republican party, for the first time, abandons its advocacy of the double standard, and indorses the monetary system which it has so often and so emphatically condemned.

The Democratic party, on the contrary, remains the steadfast advocate of the gold and silver coinage of the constitution, and is not willing that other nations shall determine for us the time and manner of restoring silver to its ancient place as a standard money.

The ratio of 16 to 1 is not only the ratio now existing between all the gold and silver dollars in circulation in this country, a ratio which even the Republican administration has not attempted to change, but it is the only ratio advocated by those who are seeking to re-open the mints.

Whether the Senate, now hostile to bimetallism, can be changed during this campaign or the campaign of 1902, can only be determined after the votes are counted, but neither the present nor the future political complexion of Congress has prevented or should prevent an announcement of the party's position upon this subject in unequivocal terms.

DISCUSSES CURRENCY BILL.

The currency bill, which received the sanction of the Executive and the Republican members of the House and Senate, justifies the warning given by the Democratic party in 1896.

It was then predicted that the Republican party would attempt to retire the greenbacks, although the party and its leaders studiously concealed their intentions. That purpose is now plain, and the people must choose between the retention of the greenbacks, issued and controlled in volume by the government, and a national bank note currency issued by banks and controlled in their own interests.

If the national bank notes are to be secured by bonds, the currency system now supported by the Republican party involves a permanent and increasing debt; and, so long as this system stands, the financial classes will be tempted to throw their powerful influence upon the side of any measure which will contribute to the size and permanency of a national debt.

It is hardly conceivable that the American people will deliberately turn from the debt-paying policy of the past to the dangerous doctrine of perpetual bonds.

DIRECT VOTE FOR SENATORS.

The demand for a constitutional amendment providing for the *election of Senators by* direct vote of the people, appears for the first

time in a Democratic national platform, but a resolution proposing such an amendment has three times passed the House of Representatives, and that, too, practically without opposition.

Whatever may have been the reasons which secured the adoption of the present plan a century ago, new conditions have made it imperative that the people be permitted to speak directly in the selection of their representatives in the Senate.

A Senator is no less the representative of the state because he receives his commission from the people themselves, rather than from the members of the state legislature.

If a voter is competent to vote for a member of Congress, for state officers and for President, he is competent to choose his representative in the Senate.

A system which makes the Senator responsible for his election to the people, as a whole, and amenable to them if he misrepresents them, must commend itself to those who have confidence in the intelligence and patriotism of the masses.

FOR DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The platform indorses the principle of direct legislation. This is already applied to the more important questions in nation, state and city. It rests upon the sound theory that the people can be trusted, and that the more responsive the government is to the will of the people, the more free it will be from misuse and abuse.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Several planks of the platform are devoted to questions in which the laboring classes have an immediate interest, but which more remotely affect our entire population. While what is generally known as government by injunction is at present directed chiefly against the employes of corporations, when there is a disagreement between them and their employer, it involves a principle which concerns every one. The purpose of the injunction in such cases is to substitute trial by judge for trial by jury, and is a covert blow at the jury system.

The abolition of government by injunction is as necessary for the protection of the reputation of the court as it is for the security of the citizen. Blackstone, in defending trial by jury, says:

BLACKSTONE AS AN AUTHORITY.

"The impartial administration of justice, which secures both our persons and our properties, is the great end of civil society, but if that be entrusted entirely to the magistracy, a select body of men, and those selected by the prince, such as enjoy the highest offices of the state, their decisions, in spite of their natural integrity, will have frequently an involuntary bias toward those of their own rank and dignity. It is not to be expected from human nature that the few should be always attentive to the interests and good of the many."

If the criminal laws are not sufficient for the protection of property, they can be made more severe, but a citizen charged with crime must have his case tried before a jury of his peers.

BLACKLIST IS A MENACE.

The blacklist as now employed in some places enables the employer to place the employe under practical duress, for the skilled laborer loses his independence when the employers can not only discharge him, but prevent his securing any similar employment. The blacklist enables employers to secure, by mutual agreement, that control over the wage earners which a private monopoly exercise without contract.

SHOULD DEMAND ARBITRATION.

The platform renews the demand for arbitration between the corporations and their employes. No one who has observed the friction which arises between great corporations and their numerous employes can doubt the wisdom of establishing an impartial court for the best and equitable settlement of disputes.

The demand for arbitration ought to be supported as heartily by the public, which suffers inconvenience because of strikes and lockouts, and by the employers themselves, as by the employes. The establishment of arbitration will insure friendly relations between labor and capital, and render obsolete the growing practice of calling in the army to settle labor troubles.

FAVORS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

I cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of the platform recommendation of the establishment of a department of labor, with a member of the Cabinet at its head. When we remember how important a position the laborer fills in our economic, social and political fabric, it is hard to conceive of a valid objection being made to this recognition of his services.

Agriculture is already represented in the President's official household; the army and navy have their representatives there; the State Department, with its consular service, and the Treasury Department, with its close connection with fiscal affairs, keep the executive in touch with the business and commercial interests. A Cabinet officer truly representative of the wage-earning class would be invaluable, not only to the toilers, but to the President.

CHINESE EXCLUSION NECESSARY.

The Chinese exclusion act has proven an advantage to the country, and its continuance and strict enforcement, as well as its extension to other similar races, are imperatively necessary. The Asiatic is so essentially different from the American that he cannot be assimilated with our population, and is, therefore, not desirable as a permanent citizen.

His presence as a temporary laborer, preserving his national *identity, and maintaining* a foreign scale of wages and living, must *ever prove an injustice to* American producers, as well as a perpetual *source of irritation.*

FOR LIBERAL PENSION POLICY.

The party expresses its pride in the soldiers and sailors of all our wars, and declares its purpose to deal generously with them and their dependents. A liberal policy is natural and necessary in a government which depends upon a citizen soldiery instead of a large standing army. Self-interest, as well as gratitude, compels the government to make bountiful provision for those who, in the hour of danger, and at great sacrifice of business, health and life, tender their services to their country.

The pension laws should be construed according to the generous spirit which prompted their passage. The platform very properly reiterates the position taken in 1896, that the fact of enlistment shall be deemed conclusive evidence that the soldier was sound when the government accepted him.

A certificate given now to the health of a person forty years ago, even if easily obtainable, should not have as much weight as the certificate of the medical officer who examined the volunteer with a view of ascertaining his fitness for army service.

DISCUSSES NICARAGUA CANAL.

The Democratic party is in favor of the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaragua canal by the United States. The failure of the Republican party to make any progress in carrying out a pledge contained in its platform four years ago, together with the substitution in its latest platform of a plank favoring an isthmian canal for a specific declaration in favor of the Nicaragua canal, would indicate that the Republican leaders either do not appreciate the importance of this great water way to the maritime strength and commercial interests of the country, or that they give too much consideration to the interested opposition of transcontinental lines. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty, now before the Senate would, if ratified, greatly lessen the value of the canal, if it would not indeed convert it into a positive menace in time of war. The paramount interests of the United States in the Western hemisphere, together with the obligations to defend the republics to the south of us, makes it necessary that our government shall be able to close the canal against any hostile power.

FAVORS THREE NEW STATES.

Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma have long been ready to assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of statehood, and it will be a pleasure as well as a duty to carry out the platform pledge concerning them.

RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS.

The time is ripe for a systematic and extended effort to reclaim the arid lands and fit them for actual settlers. The last agricultural report estimates that homes can thus be provided for many millions of people.

The impounding and use of the waters which are wasted in the spring would people the Western States with thrifty, intelligent and industrious citizens, and these would furnish a valuable market for all the products of the factories.

A small percentage of the money in a war of conquest would provide occupation and habitation for more people than would ever seek a residence in colonies within the tropics.

ALASKA AND PORTO RICO.

There will be a popular acquiescence in the demand for home rule and a territorial form of government in Alaska and Porto Rico. Both are entitled to local self-government and representation in Congress.

THE CUBAN PROBLEM.

The recognition contained in both the Democratic and Republican platforms of the right of the Cubans to independence removes the general principle involved from the domain of partisan politics. It is proper, however, to consider whether the accomplishment of this purpose can be safely entrusted to the Republican party after it has yielded to the allurements of the colonial idea, and abandoned its earlier faith in the natural and inalienable rights of man.

CONDEMNS FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

The reasons given by Washington, Jefferson and the other statesmen of the early days in support of the doctrine that we should maintain friendly relations with all nations, but enter into entangling alliances with none, are even stronger to-day than they were a hundred years ago.

Our commerce is rapidly increasing, and we are brought into constant communication with all parts of the world. Even if we desired to do so, we could not afford to alienate many nations by cultivating unnecessary intimacy with a few. Our strength and standing are such that it is less necessary than ever before to lean for aid upon the friendliness of a foreign power.

We cannot connect ourselves with European nations, and share in their jealousies and ambitions, without losing the peculiar advantage which our location, our character and our institutions give us in the world's affairs.

STANDS BY MONROE DOCTRINE.

The doctrine enunciated by Monroe, and approved by succeeding presidents, is essential to the welfare of the United States. The continents of North and South America are dedicated to the development of free government. One republic after another has been established, until to-day the monarchical idea has barely a foothold in the new world.

While it is not the policy of this country to interfere where amicable relations exist between European countries and their dependencies in America, our people would look with disfavor upon any

attempt on the part of European governments to maintain an unwilling or forcible sovereignty over the people living on this side of the Atlantic.

The position taken by the Republican leaders, and more recently set forth by the Republican candidate for the presidency, viz.: That we cannot protect a nation from outside interference without exercising sovereignty over its people, is an assault upon the Monroe doctrine, for while this argument is at this time directed against the proposition to give to the Filipinos both independence and protection, it is equally applicable to the republics of Central and South America.

THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

If this government cannot lend its strength to another republic without making subjects of its people, then we must either withdraw our protection from the republics to the south of us or absorb them.

Under the same plea, that the guardian nation must exert an authority equal to its responsibility, European nations have for centuries exploited their wards, and it is a significant fact that the Republican party should accept the European idea of a protectorate at the same time that it adopts a European colonial policy.

There is no excuse for this abandonment of the American idea. We have maintained the Monroe doctrine for three-quarters of a century. The expense to us has been practically nothing, but the protection has been beyond value to our sister republics.

If a Filipino republic is erected upon the ruins of Spanish tyranny, its protection by us will be neither difficult nor expensive. No European nation would be willing for any other European nation to have the islands, neither would any European nation be willing to provoke a war with us in order to obtain possession of the islands.

If we assert sovereignty over the Filipinos we will have to defend that sovereignty by force, and the Filipinos will be our enemies; if we protect them from outside interference they will defend themselves and be our friends. If they show as much determination in opposing the sovereignty of other nations as they have shown in opposing our sovereignty they will not require much assistance from us.

REPUBLICAN EXTRAVAGANCE.

The Republican party, drawing as it does enormous campaign funds from those who enjoy special privileges at the hands of the government, is powerless to protect the taxpayers from the attack of those who profit by large appropriations.

A surplus in the Treasury offers constant temptation to extravagance, and extravagance, in turn, compels a resort to new means of taxation, which is being kept in the background until the campaign is over, is a fair illustration of the imposition which will be attempted when there is a considerable amount of money idle in the Treasury.

The rehabilitation of the merchant marine, laudable in itself, is made the pretext of expenditure of public money for the benefit of

large ship owners and in the interests of a transportation monopoly.

The Government, being only the agent of the people, has no right to collect from the people taxes beyond the legitimate needs of a Government honestly and effectively administered, and public servants should exercise the same degree of care in the use of the people's money that private individuals do in the use of their own money. With the restoration of a foreign policy consistent with American ideas there can be an immediate and large reduction in the burdens now borne by the people.

DECLARES FOR INCOME TAX.

By inadvertence the income tax plank agreed upon by the resolutions committee was omitted from the platform as read and adopted. The subject, however, is covered by the reaffirmation of the Chicago platform, and I take this occasion to assert my belief in the principle which underlies the income tax. Congress should have authority to levy and collect an income tax whenever necessary, and an amendment to the federal constitution specifically conferring such authority ought to be supported by even those who may think the tax unnecessary at this time. In the hour of danger the Government can draft the citizen; it ought to be able to draft the pocket-book as well. Unless money is more precious than blood we cannot afford to give greater protection to the incomes of the rich than to the lives of the poor.

PLACES IMPERIALISM FIRST.

The subjects, however, treated in this letter, important as each may seem in itself, do not press so imperatively for solution as does the question which the platform declares to be the paramount issue in this campaign.

Whether we shall adhere to or abandon those ideas of government which have distinguished this nation from other nations and given to its history its peculiar charm and value, is a question the settlement of which cannot be delayed.

No other question can approach it in importance; no other question demands such immediate consideration. It is easier to lose a reputation than to establish one, and this nation would find it a long and laborious task to regain its proud position among the nations, if, under the stress of temptation, it should repudiate the self-evident truths proclaimed by our heroic ancestors and sacredly treasured during a career unparalleled in the annals of time.

When the doctrine that the people are the only source of power is made secure from further attack, we can safely proceed to the settlement of the numerous questions which involve the domestic and economic welfare of our citizens. Very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN
Fusion Populist Candidate for President

CHARLES A. TOWNE
Fusion Populist Candidate for V.-President

FUSION POPULIST OR PEOPLES PARTY PLATFORM

ADOPTED IN NATIONAL CONVENTION

AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA, MAY 10, 1900.

The Peoples Party of the United States, in convention assembled, congratulating its supporters on the wide extension of its principles in all directions, does hereby reaffirm its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in its two prior platforms and calls upon all who desire to avert the subversion of free institutions by corporate and imperialistic power to unite with it in bringing the government back to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

It extends to its allies in the struggle for financial and economic freedom assurances of its loyalty to the principles which animate the allied forces and the promise of honest and hearty co-operation in every effort for their success.

To the people of the United States we offer the following platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions:

Resolved, That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation and relegate to the gigantic money trust the control of the purse, and hence of the people. We denounce this act:

1. For making all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin or its equivalent, thus enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.

2. For refunding "gold bonds" not to mature for years into long-

time gold bonds, so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

3. For taking from the treasury over fifty millions of dollars in a time of war and presenting it at a premium to bondholders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

4. For doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes, so that they may draw one interest from the government and another from the people.

5. For allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

6. For authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency by drawing gold from the treasury, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

HIT AT GREENBACK.

7. For striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow three hundred and forty-six millions of dollars more from banks, at an annual cost of over twenty millions of dollars.

While barring out the money of the Constitution this law opens the printing mints of the treasury to the free coinage of bank paper money, to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

We pledge anew the Peoples Party never to cease the agitation until this eighth financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired.

We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege granted by the law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws, the remaining portion of the bank notes to be replaced with full legal tender government paper money and its volume so controlled as to maintain at all times a stable money market and a stable price level.

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

With Thomas Jefferson, we declare the land, including all natural sources of wealth, the inalienable heritage of the people. Government should so act as to secure homes for the people and prevent land *monopoly. The original* homestead policy should be enforced and

future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead, while all who have paid an acreage price to the government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

NATIONS TO OWN RAILROADS.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on the nonpartisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the extortion, tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction, of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result and culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation and the means of transmission of information—which instruments of commerce are public functions, and which our forefathers declared in the Constitution should be controlled by the people through their congress for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts is that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by a trust shall be abolished.

To cope with the trust evil the people must act directly without the intervention of representatives who may be controlled or influenced. We therefore demand direct legislation, giving the people the lawmaking and veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

Applauding the valor of our army and navy in the Spanish war, we denounce the conduct of the administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our national life—at war with the declaration of independence, the Constitution and the plain precepts of humanity.

FREEDOM FOR FILIPINOS.

Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals of the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Philippines of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

The declaration of independence, the Constitution and the American flag are one and inseparable. The Island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States, and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island the administration has violated the Constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty, and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our forefathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

Out of the imperialism which would force an undesired domination on the people of the Philippines springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. Nothing in the character or purposes of our people justifies us in ignoring the plain lesson of history and putting our liberties in jeopardy by assuming the burden of militarism, which is crushing the people of the old world. We denounce the administration for its sinister efforts to substitute a standing army for the citizen soldiery, which is the best safeguard of the republic.

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance, open or covert, between the United States and any other nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

And a further manifestation of imperialism is to be found in the mining districts of Idaho. In the Coeur d'Alene soldiers have been used to overawe miners striving for a greater measure of industrial independence. And we denounce the state government of Idaho and the federal government for employing the military arm of the government to abridge the civil rights of the people, and to enforce an infamous permit system which denies to laborers their inherent liberty and compels them to foreswear their manhood and their right before being permitted to seek employment.

BAN ON CONTRACT LABOR.

The importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigration laws. We demand that the federal government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws. We further pledge ourselves to strive for the enactment of more stringent laws for the exclusion of Mongolian and Malayan immigration.

We indorse municipal ownership of public utilities and declare that the advantages which have accrued to the public under that system would be multiplied a hundredfold by its extension to natural interstate monopolies.

We denounce the practice of issuing injunctions in the cases of dispute between employers and employes, making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals, and demand legislation to restrain the evil.

We demand that United States senators and all other officials as far as practicable be elected by direct vote of the people.

Believing that the elective franchise and untrammeled ballot are essential to a government of, for and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement by coercion and intimidation adopted in some states as unrepublican and undemocratic. And we declare it to be the duty of the several state legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair *ballot and an* honest count.

We favor home rule in the territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the territories as states.

We denounce the expensive red tape system, political favoritism, cruel and unnecessary delay and criminal evasion of the statutes in management of the pension office, and demand the simple and honest execution of the law, and the fulfillment by the nation of its pledges of service pension to all its honorably discharged veterans.

Charles A. Towne Declines the Nomination for Vice-President on the Populist Ticket.

DULUTH, Minn., Aug. 7.—Former Congressman Charles A. Towne, who was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by the Populist national convention, held at Sioux Falls in May, has sent the following letter to the committee of notification:

The Hon. P. M. Ringdal, Chairman, and the Members of the Committee on Notification of the Candidate for Vice-President of the People's Party National Convention, held at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 9 and 10, 1900:

GENTLEMEN—When, on the 5th of July at Kansas City I had the the honor to receive from you the official notification of the action of your national convention in nominating me for the office of Vice-President of the United States, I requested, in view of anomalous and delicate circumstances in the Presidential situation, that you permit me to take the subject under careful advisement before announcing a decision either accepting or declining that nomination. This request you were pleased to grant, and now, after mature consideration of all the factors involved that concern the welfare of the cause of political reform in this country and my own duty thereto, I am constrained to inform you in all respect that I must decline the nomination tendered me by the Sioux Falls convention.

FEELS HE WAS HONORED.

"In announcing this conclusion, I cannot forbear to express to you, and through you, to the great convention whose commission you hold, as well as to that patriotic body of advanced political thought that your convention represented, my deep sense of the honor conferred upon me. To be the unanimous choice of such a convention for the second highest office in the service of the republic would be a distinction to any citizen. Two circumstances, however, add emphasis to this consideration in the present instance: First, that the nomination was unsolicited by me, and, secondly, that the convention, as in the case also of its nominee for President, went out of its own political organization to select a candidate. To my mind this action of the Sioux Falls convention in nominating for President a repre-

sentative of the Democratic party, and for Vice-President a representative of the Silver Republican party, is one of the most encouraging and inspiring spectacles in recent politics. Its unselfishness and magnanimity, its testimony to the precedence of the cause of the people over any merely partisan advantage, raised the procedure of that convention into the serene upper air of true civic heroism. From such a spirit as this, what service, what sacrifice can be asked in the name of the republic?

FAILURE AT KANSAS CITY.

"It was, of course, the expectation of your convention that its nomination for the Vice-Presidency would prove acceptable to the conventions of the Democratic and Silver Republican parties called to meet in Kansas City on the Fourth of July. The Silver Republicans, 1,330 delegates, representing twenty-eight states and territories, were indeed eager to name the ticket chosen at Sioux Falls; but to the great Democratic convention another course commended itself. The name of your nominee was presented to that convention and was received with remarkable demonstrations of approval by the enormous number of citizen spectators, and with the utmost respect by the delegates. But geographical considerations, and the fact that in certain parts of the country it was deemed wise to defer to a sentiment demanding that the candidate should be a man already identified with the Democratic organization, not only by holding its principles and advocating its cause, but also by name and profession, determined the selection of Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, a man of unimpeachable character and of ripe political experience, who, as a member of Congress more than twenty years ago, was a close associate and co-laborer of General J. B. Weaver, and other great leaders in the reform political movements of that day, and who, as Vice-President from 1893 to 1897, distinguished himself by rebelling against the betrayal of Democratic principles by President Cleveland.

NO OTHER COURSE OPEN.

"When Mr. Stevenson had been nominated what was it my duty to do? My name had gone before the convention along with his and I had been beaten. The nomination had been made decisively and with absolute fairness. The candidate chosen was personally unexceptionable; his loyalty to our principles was beyond question, and his career had been a long exemplification of them. Manifestly it was my duty to support that nomination. Acting upon this conviction, I went before the Silver Republican convention and succeeded in persuading it not to nominate me, and the Vice-Presidential matter was finally referred to the Silver Republican national committee with full powers. Later in the night this committee placed the name of Mr. Stevenson on its ticket as candidate for Vice-President.

"This recital clearly develops the situation as it now is. Everybody knows that either Stevenson or Roosevelt is to be the next Vice-President of the United States. I am expected to take a laborious

part in the campaign. I shall, of course, advocate the election of Bryan and Stevenson. The Democratic convention, before which I was a candidate, nominated Bryan and Stevenson. In what light should I appear before the American people if, while advocating the election of one ticket, I should be going through the form of running on another? Nobody in the United States would think I had the slightest chance of being elected, and nobody would believe that I considered myself seriously as a candidate unless at the same time he believed me to be absolutely lacking in common sense. Whom could such a phantom candidacy deceive? What respect should I deserve indeed if in such a matter I should attempt to deceive anybody whatsoever? I know the People's party to be composed of men most exceptionally keen and expert in political judgment. So obvious a sham could not elude their vision. Either they would resent my implied uncomplimentary estimate of them or they would be justified in forming one of me which could result only in injuring the cause which it had been the professed object of my mistaken folly to advance. Consistency and candor in politics, therefore, my own self-respect, a proper deference to the People's party, and a sincere regard for the welfare of the cause of political reform in the United States—all counsel that I now respectfully replace in your hands the honorable trust which your great party committed to me in contemplation of a different complexion of affairs than that which has resulted.

GOOD WORDS FOR DEMOCRATS.

"In conclusion, I may be permitted to express the profound satisfaction which I feel in contemplating the present attitude of the Democratic party. In 1896 I was one of those who, keenly feeling the recreancy of the Republican party, were much in doubt whether the memorable Democratic convention at Chicago, in adopting its splendid platform and nominating William J. Bryan for the Presidency, was actuated by an impulse or by a purpose. The magnificent achievements at Kansas City have settled all possible doubt on that subject. The platform adopted not only re-enacts the principles of 1896, but, in language whose force, dignity and beauty have never been equaled in a similar document, responds to the new issues presented in the growth of the trust monopoly and the imperialistic policy of the administration by an appropriate enunciation of those sublime doctrines of human rights and liberties whose profession and observance have been the peculiar glory of our country, and are the sure basis of the ultimate happiness of mankind. And again the duty of carrying the banner of the cause has been committed to that tried and trusted hand whose grasp has never weakened, which no fear can make to falter and no burden can dismay. The leadership of Bryan, which could have redeemed a bad platform, sanctifies a good one. It made memorable an unsuccessful contest. It will crown a victory with imperishable splendor. With every sentiment of respect and gratitude, I remain, most sincerely yours,

"CHARLES A. TOWNE."

WHARTON BARKER
Mid-Road Populist Candidate for President

IGNATIUS DONNELLY
Mid-Road Pop. Candidate for V.-Presiden

MID-ROAD POPULIST OR PEOPLES PARTY PLATFORM

ADOPTED IN CONVENTION

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 10, 1900.

The People's Party of the United States, assembled in national convention this 10th of May, 1900, affirming our unshaken belief in the cardinal tenets of the Peoples Party as set forth in the Omaha platform, and pledging ourselves anew to continued advocacy of those grand principles of human liberty until right shall triumph over might and love over greed, do adopt and proclaim this declaration of faith:

1. We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate for such changes of existing fundamental and statute law as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire, to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests and to recall unfaithful public servants.

2. We demand the public ownership and operation of those *means of communication,* transportation and production which the *people may elect, such as* railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, *coal mines, etc.*

3. The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

4. A scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation, not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts and receivable for all taxes and public dues, and issued by the government only without the intervention of banks and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce, is the best currency that can be devised, but until such a financial system is secured, which we shall press for adoption, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

5. We demand the levy and collection of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances and a constitutional amendment to secure the same if necessary.

6. We demand the election of President, Vice-President, federal judges and United States senators by direct vote of the people.

7. We are opposed to trusts, and declare the contention between the old parties on the monopoly question is a sham battle, and that no solution of this mighty problem is possible without the adoption of the principles of public ownership of public utilities.

JOHN GRANVILLE WOOLLEY
Prohibition Candidate for President

HENRY BREWER METCALF
Prohibition Candidate for Vice-President

PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

ADOPTED IN CONVENTION

AT CHICAGO, JUNE 26, 1900.

PREAMBLE.

The National Prohibition Party, in convention represented, at Chicago, June 27 and 28, 1900, acknowledge Almighty God as the Supreme Source of all just government. Realizing that this republic was founded upon Christian principles and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims:

DEFINITION OF PARTY AND ARRAIGNMENT OF PARTIES.

1. We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke, that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting, by their joint endeavor, the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed." We declare that there is no principle now advocated, by any other party, which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principle of Prohibition, applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and widely as by its adoption and assertion through a national policy, and the co-operation therein of every state, forbidding the manufacture, sale, exporta-

tion, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle, proposed by any party anywhere, for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future, and financial welfare; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country, agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot-box, from this time forward, until Prohibition is the established policy of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and to those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, could successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government, in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership, and as to which, because of such differences, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.

We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizen and breeds the purchasable voter, money will continue to buy its way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood, and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

We propose as a first step in the financial problems of the nation to save more than a billion of dollars every year, now annually expended to support the liquor traffic and to demoralize our people. When that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that with a clearer atmosphere the country can address itself to the questions as to the kind and quantity of currency needed.

THE ISSUE PRESENTED.

2. We reaffirm as true indisputably the declaration of William Windom, when secretary of the treasury in the cabinet of President Arthur, that "Considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and that "the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress." We hold that the existence of our party presents this issue squarely to the American people, and lays upon them the responsibility of choice between liquor parties, dominated by distillers and brewers, with their policy of saloon perpetuation, breeding waste, wickedness, woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption and crime, and our one party of patriotic and moral principle, with a policy which defends it from domination by

corrupt bosses and which insures it forever against the blighting control of saloon politics.

We face with sorrow, shame and fear, the awful fact that this liquor traffic has a grip on our government, municipal, state and national, through the revenue system and saloon sovereignty, which no other party dares to dispute; a grip which dominates the party now in power, from caucus to Congress, from policeman to President, from the rumshop to the White House; a grip which compels the chief executive to consent that law shall be nullified in behalf of the brewer, that the canteen shall curse our army and spread intemperance across the seas, and that our flag shall wave as the symbol of partnership at home and abroad, between this government and the men who defy and defile it for their unholy gain.

THE PRESIDENT ARRAIGNED.

3. We charge upon President McKinley, who was elected to his high office by appeals to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that, by his conspicuous example as a wine-drinker at public banquets and as a wine-serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of young men, and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute, than any other President this republic has ever had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico and the Philippines; and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen, and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country, in such a manner and to such a degree, as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant and effective rebuke.

We challenge denial of the fact that our chief executive, as commander in chief of the military forces of the United States, at any time prior to or since March 2, 1899, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes in effect did before him, and should have closed them, for the same reasons which actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress, passed March 2, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquor, "in any post-exchange or canteen," by any "officer or private soldier" or by "any other person on any premises used for military purposes in the United States," was and is as explicit an act of Prohibition as the English language can frame; we declare our solemn belief that the attorney general of the United States in his interpretation of that law, and the secretary of war in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and indorsement of such interpretation and refusal, on the part of officials *appointed by and responsible* to him, shares responsibly in their guilt;

and we record our conviction that a new and serious peril confronts our country, in the fact that its President, at the behest of the beer power, dare and does abrogate a law of Congress, through subordinates removable at will by him and whose acts become his, and thus virtually confesses that laws are to be administered, or to be nullified in the interest of a law-defying business, by an administration under mortgage to such business for support.

FOREIGN LIQUOR POLICY CONDEMNED.

4. We deplore the fact that an administration of this republic, claiming the right and power to carry our flag across seas, and to conquer and to annex new territory, should admit its lack of power to prohibit the American saloon on subjugated soil, or should openly confess itself subject to liquor sovereignty under that flag. We are humiliated, exasperated and grieved, by the evidence painfully abundant, that this administration's policy of expansion is bearing so rapidly its first fruits of drunkenness, insanity and crime under the hot-house sun of the tropics; and when the president of the first Philippine commission says "It was unfortunate that we introduced and established the saloon there, to corrupt the natives and to exhibit the vices of our race," we charge the inhumanity and unchristianity of this act upon the administration of William McKinley and upon the party which elected and would perpetuate the same.

5. We declare that the only policy which the government of the United States can of right uphold as to the liquor traffic, under the national constitution, upon any territory under the military or civil control of that government, is the policy of Prohibition; that "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," as the constitution provides, the liquor traffic must neither be sanctioned nor tolerated, and that the revenue policy, which makes our governnent a partner with distillers and brewers and bar-keepers, is a disgrace to our civilization, an outrage upon humanity, and a crime against God.

We condemn the present administration at Washington because it has repealed the prohibitory laws in Alaska, and has given over the partly civilized tribes there to be the prey of the American grog-shop; and because it has entered upon a license policy in our new possessions by incorporating the same in the recent act of Congress in the code of laws for the government of the Hawaiian Islands.

We call general attention to the fearful fact that exportation of liquors from the United States to the Philippine Islands increased from $337 in 1898 to $467,198 in the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900; and that while our exportation of liquors to Cuba never reached $30,000 a year, previous to American occupation of that island, our exports of such liquors to Cuba, during the fiscal year of 1899, reached the sum of $629,855.

6. One great religious body (the Baptist) having truly declared of the liquor traffic "that it has no defensible right to exist, that it can never be reformed, and that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing un-Christian, un-American, and perilous utterly to every interest in life"; another great religious body (the Methodist) having as truly asserted and reiterated that "no political party has a right to expect, nor should receive, the votes of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license system, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon"; other great religious bodies having made similar deliverances, in language plain and unequivocal, as to the liquor traffic and the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon, and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the Prohibition policy, and which for nearly thirty years has been the faithful defender of the church, the state, the home and the school, against the saloon, its expanders and perpetuators, their actual and persistent foes.

We insist that no differences of belief, as to any other question or concern of government, should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over the allied hosts of evil, sin and crime, in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We declare that there are but two real parties, to-day, concerning the liquor traffic — perpetuationists and Prohibitionists; and that patriotism, Christianity and every interest of genuine and of pure democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this republic.

Letter of Acceptance of John G. Woolley, Prohibition Candidate for President, Delivered at Chicago, Ill., July 20, 1900.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I accept this nomination, not as the leader of a forlorn hope, but as a color-bearer in the next and greatest forward movement of humanity. For it seems well within lines of the most studious moderation to believe that organized conscience, as represented by the church, and organized greed as represented by the liquor traffic, are forming rapidly in American politics, for the greatest pitched battle of the ages, and in that fight he is the chief of dullards who cannot pick the winner.

First, then, and least important of the things entitled to be mentioned here, the personal honor you confer upon me, resolved by the prism of cold fact, appears to show my labors multiplied, my income stopped, my faults magnified, my motives clouded, my liberty abridged, my usefulness diminished, my career cut short, but in the whole white light of faith—which is nothing more than reason clarified—I seem to see that although no vote be cast for us in the electoral college, yet many a party, elected and re-elected, may have to walk behind ours, when the lines of fame are formed according to true precedence.

As history fills her reams and tomes and tons of the wisdom of the "smooth" statesmanship to whose myopic vision the lesser of the two likely evils seems the highest good, and of the piety of the prophets who will stoop to prosper, she will reserve a page or two for the "foolishness" of Christian citizenship, and underneath the list of names that you from time to time have marked for honorable mention—Black and Smith and Dow and Fisk and Bidwell and Levering, and the rest—will write: "These all died in the faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar, and confessed that they were pilgrims and strangers on the earth." At the foot of this list, and least worthy of all, so far, you offer to add my name, and I thank you. You are the picked men of the churches; the bravest of the brave in politics, and I would rather be the humblest private in the ranks, with such as you, than to be President of the United States and feel obliged to touch my hat to the saloon.

But our success depends upon the advancement of no candidate. If it were so, we might feel discouraged at the prospect. It takes some millions of votes to elect a President, but in the enthronement of a righteous principle one "first rate fighting man" shall chase a thousand camp followers, and two put "ten thousand to flight." Our issue is our real nominee, and if but half a million Christian men be true, we will elect it on the sixth of next November. And I, for one

expect that we shall get the half million, and long before the fourth of March inaugurate the doctrine of Prohibition with a party behind it in the political consciousness of the United States.

GROPING FOR THE SWORD OF THE LORD.

This confidence in the rightness and the progress and the outcome of our movement rises not alone from sentimental faith that right will triumph, but also from plain, present symptoms in the body politic. The Prohibition party has not descended from the clouds to agitate this nation and convict it. We have not come back out of the future to trouble the present time. We are blood and bone and brain of the same past from which our neighbors spring. The same high thought that controls us is growing in our fellow citizens. We are not the creator of a new time, but a sign of the time that is here. We have seen the high vision sooner than the others, but the mountains of political possibility in America—the homes, the churches and the common schools—are "full of horses and chariots." The hand of the American people is groping for "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," and some of us now living will see them sheathe it in the belly of the saloon.

Why, then, having this confidence, do we cry back at our friends who cling to the old ways, saying hard things and sometimes cruel things? That is too deep a matter to go into here, but it is physically certain that the reason why we human beings think and act and speak at all, is because our own nerve-ends fret each other. And so, in social life, man frets man and state frets state, and, somehow, by that travail, the great world-thoughts are born and under way before any individual can claim the credit of their bringing forth. And if we do agitate the good ill-naturedly, sometimes, it is, perhaps, because our appetite for the "strong meat" of truth is more developed than our powers of digestion. For myself, at any rate, whatever vices of presentation may be charged to me, I am not and cannot be a pessimist, for in every quiet, wholesome moment of my thinking, I perceive that my own highest thought is but a fragment of the output of the social organism of which I am a member.

I APOLOGIZE TO NOBODY.

When the unreasoning heartache grips me which makes me hurl fierce upbraidings at my fellow men, my church, my country, I forgive myself and apologize to nobody, for I know that my abrupt half sentences are but the unspoken and unspeakable agonies of horror-stricken homes filling the unseen channels of human sympathy, and pouring themselves into an open mind from day to day. When in my mind I make my nightly rounds of military camps and see the white-faced lads, in their rough boxes, dead at the hands of the liquor traffic, denied even the grace of a bullet or a poisoned arrow in their taking off; when I know that they are emasculated in their manhood by the "canteen" and then robbed, diseased, flayed by *the "outside dive;"* when I know that the lieutenant general of the

army tried to save them from the insidious, respectable allurements at their tent doors, and that Congress, without one voice dissenting, forbade that damnable infamy to thrust itself up to their lips, quivering with homesickness; when, I say, I remember these things, and call the annulment of that statute, treason, I know I speak the inner thought of my country, and no time-serving pot-hunter shall frighten me by whimpering that I "speak evil of dignitaries."

But stop! Is not the canteen better than the "outside dive?" No! It is not better than anything. It is wrong, it is worse than the dive in evil initiative, and infinitely, infamously worse in the teaching. The dive is kept by a brute biped, unfeathered. The canteen is the creation of a "godly man," a "Christian gentleman," and the President of the United States, in violation of the law of his church and of his oath of office.

To this high faith in the essential unity and integrity of the people our platform is a signal testimony. It lays its corners on the religious idea, which is common to all men and the bedrock of all society, and forbids "the sound of any ax or hammer" of a politician trying to force a joint or rush the superstructure. In form and subject-matter also it seems exactly suited to the end in view, which is not, primarily, to carry an election, but to make it possible for a Christian man to carry himself, man fashion, at an election. In superficial area it suffers in comparison with the others, but in intellectual and moral breadth and length and depth and height it has no rival in the field to-day. The peril of nations is the sag of moral character. They run to art, science, literature, philosophy, and drive out homespun virtue in the undertow. Greece did that, and how she died is ancient history. They run to law, statecraft, armies, colonies, and forget "truth in the inward parts." Rome rotted down of that a fortnight of centuries ago. They run to "prosperity at home and prestige abroad" and sell the truth for offices and money. This country is trying that; but love says, if not judgment, that she will cleanse herself and live forever. To that end some trust in free silver and some in cornered gold, but we say: "Back to the conscience of the people!" The highest statesmanship, in such a government as this, is that which, as often as possible, lines up the people at a simple, single, conscience proposition. This is the noblest use a general election can be put to. The multiplex issues of economics are for experts and committees and legislatures. They mix the people, miss their best thought and dull their moral sense. But, when they speak upon a moral question, fairly and honorably submitted, "the voice of the people is the voice of God." The stain and peril of our politics today is that the great leaders are blind or false to this divinely ordered function of the electorate. The agony of the bosses is, lest we remember the heights of our nature and refuse to wallow one another in the dirt, like ragged pickaninnies, for pennies that the ruling scoundrels fling among us, while the "powers" of commercialism prostitute our own franchises to slice us

up — in the language of current diplomacy — into "spheres of influence" for purposes of spoil.

"AN ACCURSED THING IN THE MIDST OF THEE."

Most pertinent illustrations are close at hand and very tempting. But in the shadow of the news from China and the enormous responsibilities thrown by it upon the parties in control in Congress and the executive department, it seems to me that good citizens of all parties should refrain from general criticism until civilization gets its foot upon the yellow spider at Pekin. But none the less, the right, and duty, of our party holds, to bring clean-handed, into this and every crisis, the voice of the church: "There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee," Oh America; "Thou canst not stand before thine enemies until ye put away the accursed thing from among you!" If conscience is to be ordered to the rear as you expand your borders and your powers, never mind your murdered missionaries and ministers; murder is nothing but murder after all! If conscience is to die, at home, never mind the color of the coins you lay upon her eyes! If bravery belongs to Christian government, no man or party that is afraid of the liquor traffic is fit to lead this people into the twentieth century.

If "the safety of the people is the supreme law," the Prohibition party brings to the ballot box the greatest issue ever framed in politics; no far-away, impractical fanaticism, either, but a real thing, close, importunate, reasonable, universal. Would you strike for "life, liberty and happiness?" Then train your guns of civil rights upon the license system, that sells short leases to bad men and weak men and ignorant men, to spread death, slavery and misery in the land. Would you uphold the constitution? Then tear down the organized disunion of the liquor traffic that establishes injustice and breeds domestic turmoil; that undermines the common defense, promotes anarchy, disease, idiocy, vagrancy and crime and makes "the blessings of liberty" a sham and a lie to millions of us and our posterity! Would you be true to our island dependencies? Spare their people the brain-rot of the American saloon! Would you make sure of honest money? Refuse the bloody millions of the liquor traffic; shut down the distilleries and breweries; shut up the saloons; shut out of the ports foreign alcohols in every form, and open up the windows of the conscience of the country to the voices of the dawning century!

Two errors beset us all the way, that which says: "Public sentiment is not ready, this thing cannot be done!" and that which says: "It is right, we shall win quickly!"

IF PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS NOT READY.

If public sentiment is not ready, we must get it ready, and that cannot be done by surrendering to the enemy. But the supposition wrongs the people. They are ready, if they can have their attention *drawn and held to* the religious argument, as opposed to party ex-

pediency. They have been dragged about in the "bad lands" of politics until they are discouraged and perverted in judgment, so that they do not reason of righteousness at all. We do not need to create sentiment, but to collect it, and that cannot be done quickly. Our fight is not against the people, nor even against the saloon, primarily, but we fight to set up an ideal, and victory in such a matter neither halts nor hurries. Few of us can lay claim to what is called "political sagacity." Problems of human government are very big and very complicated. The very simplest of them, even if one's own opinion be adopted, may involve time far beyond his span of life, and interests far beyond his powers of calculation. His own capacity may be very small, his sense of proportion crude, his judgment variable, his will none too strong. In the argument, therefore, of questions, many of whose elements are unknown, and even unknowable, to him, and which are so vast that when he looks at them he cannot tell cause from effect, nor premise from conclusion, he cannot hope to hold his own against debaters who know far more than he does. He cannot even trust himself, unopposed, in very complicated matters where friendship and ambition and property and self interests are part and parcel. But he will find that he can always tell the right from the wrong side of a simple, moral question. And, judging others by myself, I say, on the ground of both good morals and good politics, that the next great business of this country is to get itself upon a straight-out conscience basis, trusting any "civil service" that comes out of that to be reliable in minor things. To tell the points of the compass, to this day, I have to rub the Aladdin's lamp of my imagination and be transported to my childhood home, which stood on a hill facing east; once there, the whole plan of the earth becomes plain to me. So, in my politics, it seems to me the part of wisdom to find the direction and relation of things, by going back in spirit to take my bearings "in my father's house."

By the revolution of 1776 we set up the ideal of liberty; by the revolution of 1789 we set up the ideal of social confederacy; by the revolution of 1861 we set up the ideal of national unity. Not one of these ideals is yet realized in perfect fact, but they are coming on. By the revolution of 1900 we shall set up national righteousness, which, providentially, is ready to loyal hands in the issue of the Prohibition party. And so, thanking you once more for this distinguished mark of your confidence, I bid you, for the honor of the church, in the great words of the father of our country, to come on: "Let us lift up a standard to which the wise and honest may repair, the event is in the hand of God."

Naturalization Laws of the United States.

The conditions under and the manner in which an alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States are prescribed by Section 2, 165-74 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

DECLARATION OF INTENTIONS.

The alien must declare upon oath before a circuit or district court of the United States or a district or supreme court of the Territories, or a court of record of any of the States having common law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, two years at least prior to his admission, that it is, bona fide, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince or State, and particularly to the one of which he may be at the time a citizen or subject.

OATH ON APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION.

He must at the time of his application to be admitted declare on oath, before some one of the courts above specified, "that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject," which proceedings must be recorded by the clerk of the court.

CONDITIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court to which the alien has applied that he has made a declaration to become a citizen two years before applying for final papers, and has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years, and within the State or Territory where such court is at the time held one year at least; and that during that time "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," he will be admitted to citizenship.

TITLES OF NOBILITY.

If the applicant has borne any hereditary title or order of nobility he must make an express renunciation of the same at the time of his application.

SOLDIERS.

Any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upward who has been in the armies of the United States, and has been honorably discharged therefrom, may become a citizen on his petition, without any previous declaration of intention, provided that he has resided in the United States at least one year previous to his application, and is of good moral character. (It is judicially decided that residence of one year in a particular State is not requisite.)

MINORS.

Any alien under the age of twenty-one years who has resided in the United States three years next preceding his arriving at that age, and who has continued to reside therein to the time he may make application to be admitted a citizen thereof, may, after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, and after he has resided five years within the United States, including the three years of his minority, be admitted a citizen; but he must make a declaration on oath and prove to the satisfaction of the court that for two years next preceding it has been his bona fide intention to become a citizen.

CHILDREN OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The children of persons who have been duly naturalized, being under the age of twenty one years at the time of the naturalization of their parents, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be considered as citizens thereof.

CITIZENS' CHILDREN WHO ARE BORN ABROAD.

The children of persons who now are or have been citizens of the United States are, though born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, considered as citizens thereof.

ALIENS IN U. S. NAVY AND MARINE CORPS.

Chapter 165, Laws 53d Congress, 1895, Sec. 2166, provides that any alien of 21 years of age and upward, who has enlisted or may enlist in the United States Navy or Marine Corps, or has served or may hereafter serve five consecutive years in the United States Navy or Marine Corps, and has been or may hereafter be honorably discharged, shall be admitted to become a citizen of the United States on his petition without any previous declaration of intention to become such and the Court admitting such alien shall in addition to proof of good moral character be satisfied by competent proof of such service and honorable discharge from the United States Navy or Marine Corps.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF DECLARENTS.

Section 2168 of U. S. Statutes provides when any alien who has complied with the first condition in Section 2165 dies before he is actually naturalized, the widow and children of such alien shall be considered as citizens of the United States and shall be entitled to all rights and privileges as such on taking the oaths prescribed.

CHINESE.

The naturalization of Chinamen is expressly prohibited by Section 14, Chapter 126, Laws of 1882.

PROTECTION ABROAD TO NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

Section 2,000 of the Revised Statutes of the United States declares that "all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

The right to vote comes from the State, and is a State gift. Naturalization is a Federal right and is a gift of the Union, not of any one State. In nearly one-half of the Union aliens (who have declared intentions) vote and have the right to vote equally with naturalized or native born citizens. In the other half only actual citizens may vote. (See Table of Qualifications for Voting in each State, on another page.) The Federal naturalization laws apply to the whole Union alike, and provide that no alien may be naturalized until after five years' residence. Even after five years' residence and due naturalization he is not entitled to vote unless the laws of the State confer the privilege upon him, and he may vote in several States six months after landing, if he has declared his intention, under United States laws, to become a citizen.

Voting Qualifications.

REQUIREMENTS AS TO CITIZENSHIP.

ALABAMA—Citizens, or alien who has declared his intention, must exhibit poll-tax receipt.
ARKANSAS—Like Alabama.
CALIFORNIA—Citizens by nativity; naturalized for 90 days or treaty of Queretaro
COLORADO—Citizens, male or female, or alien who has declared his intention 4 months before offering to vote.
CONNECTICUT—Citizens who can read.
DELAWARE—Citizens paying $1 registration fee.
FLORIDA—Citizens of United States.
GEORGIA—Citizens who have paid all taxes since 1877.
IDAHO—Citizens, male or female.
ILLINOIS—Citizens of United States.

INDIANA—Citizens, or alien who has declared intention and resided 1 year in United States.
IOWA—Citizens of United States.
KANSAS—Citizens, aliens who have declared intention; women vote at municipal and school elections.
KENTUCKY—Citizens of United States.
LOUISIANA—Citizens, or alien who has declared intention.
MAINE—Citizens of United States.
MARYLAND—Citizens of United States.
MASSACHUSETTS—Citizens who can read and write English.
MICHIGAN—Citizens, or alien who declared intention prior to May 8, 1892.
MINNESOTA—Citizens and aliens who have declared intention; civilized Indians; women can vote at school elections.
MISSISSIPPI—Citizens who can read or understand the constitution.
MISSOURI—Citizens, or alien who has declared his intention not less than 1 nor more than 5 years before offering to vote.
MONTANA—Citizens of United States.
NEBRASKA—Citizens, or alien who has declared his intention 30 days before election.
NEVADA—Citizens of United States.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Citizens of United States.
NEW JERSEY—Citizens of United States.
NEW YORK—Citizens who have been such for 90 days.
NORTH CAROLINA—Citizens of United States.
NORTH DAKOTA—Citizens, or alien who has declared intention 1 year and Indians who have severed tribal relations; limited woman suffrage.
OHIO—Citizens.
OREGON—White male citizens, or aliens who have declared intention 1 year before election.
PENNSYLVANIA—Citizens at least 1 month, and if 22 years old, must have paid tax within 2 years.
RHODE ISLAND—Citizens of United States.
SOUTH CAROLINA—Citizens of United States.
SOUTH DAKOTA—Citizens, or alien who has declared intention.
TENNESSEE—Citizens who have paid poll-tax preceding year.
TEXAS—Citizens, or alien who has declared intention 6 months before election.
UTAH—Citizens of United States, male or female.
VERMONT—Citizens of United States.
VIRGINIA—Citizens of United States
WASHINGTON—Citizens of United States.
WEST VIRGINIA—Citizens of the State.
WISCONSIN—Citizens, or alien who has declared intention.
WYOMING—Citizens, male or female.

Persons Excluded From Suffrage.

ALABAMA—Convicted of treason or other felonies, idiots, or insane.

ARIZONA TERRITORY—Indians and Chinamen.

ARKANSAS—Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, until pardoned, failure to pay poll-tax.

CALIFORNIA—Chinese, idiots, insane, embezzlers of public moneys, convicted of infamous crime.

COLORADO—Convicted of crime, bribery in public office.

CONNECTICUT—Convicted of heinous crime, unless pardoned.

DELAWARE—Insane persons and paupers or persons convicted of felony.

FLORIDA—Idiots, duelists, convicted of felony or any infamous crime.

GEORGIA—Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, idiots, and insane.

IDAHO—Idiots, insane, convicted of felony or treason.

ILLINOIS—Convicted of felony or bribery in elections, unless restored to citizenship, idiots, lunatics.

INDIANA—United States soldiers, sailors, and marines, and persons convicted of infamous crime.

IOWA—Idiots, insane, convicted of infamous crime.

KANSAS—Felons, insane, rebels not restored to citizenship.

KENTUCKY—Convicted of felony, idiots, and insane.

LOUISIANA—Idiots, insane, convicted of felony or treason, unless pardoned, with express restoration of franchise.

MAINE—Paupers and Indians not taxed.

MARYLAND—Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, lunatics, persons non compos mentis.

MASSACHUSETTS—Paupers and persons under guardianship.

MICHIGAN—Indians with tribal relations, duelists and accessories.

MINNESOTA—Convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, under guardianship, insane, Indians untaxed.

MISSISSIPPI—Insane, idiots, Indians not taxed, felons, persons who have not paid taxes.

MISSOURI—Persons in poorhouses or asylums at public expense, those in prison or who have been convicted of infamous crimes.

MONTANA—Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, idiots, insane, United States soldiers, seamen, and marines, Indians.

NEBRASKA—Convicted of felony, unless restored to civil rights, persons non compos mentis.

NEVADA—Idiots, insane, unpardoned convicts, Indians, Chinese.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Insane or paupers.

NEW JERSEY—Idiots, paupers, insane, convicted of crime, unless pardoned or restored by law.

NEW MEXICO TERRITORY—Convicted of felony, unless pardoned, United States soldier or camp follower, Indians.

NEW YORK—Convicted and sentenced to a State prison or penitentiary for felony or other infamous crime; persons who have received or offered to receive, or who have paid, or promised to pay, compensation for giving or withholding votes, or who have laid any bet or wager upon the result of an election.

NORTH CAROLINA—Convicted of felony or other infamous crime, idiots, lunatics, and those who deny the being of Almighty God.

NORTH DAKOTA—Under guardianship, persons non compos mentis, or convic ed of felony and treason, unless restored to civil rights.

OHIO—Idiots, insane, and felons.

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY—Indians having tribal relations.

OREGON—Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary.

PENNSYLVANIA—Convicted of perjury and fraud as election officers, or bribery of voters.

RHODE ISLAND—Paupers, lunatics.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Convicted of felony, or bribery in elections, unless pardoned, idiots, insane, paupers.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Under guardianship, insane, convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, United States soldiers, seamen, and marines.

TENNESSEE—Convicted of bribery or other infamous offense.

TEXAS—Idiots, lunatics, paupers, convicted of felony, United States soldiers, marines, and seamen.

UTAH—Idiots, insane, convicted of treason or crime against elective franchise, unless pardoned.

VERMONT—Those who have not obtained the approbation of the board of civil authority of the town in which they reside.

VIRGINIA—Idiots, lunatics.

WASHINGTON—Idiots, lunatics, convicted of infamous crimes, Indians not taxed.

WEST VIRGINIA—Paupers, idiots, lunatics, convicted of treason, felony, or bribery at elections.

WISCONSIN—Indians having tribal relations, insane, convicted of treason or felony.

WYOMING—Idiots, insane, convicted of infamous crimes, unable to read state constitution.

Requirements Regarding Registration of Voters.

The registration of voters is required in the States of Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania (voter not registered can vote upon proof of residence), South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and Wyoming, and the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

In Vermont must take freeman's oath before voting first time, no registration required.

In Iowa in cities having 3,500 inhabitants.

In Nebraska in cities having over 7,000 inhabitants.

In Kentucky in cities and towns having a population of 3,000 or more, in Kansas in cities of the first and second class, in North Dakota in cities and villages of 1,000 inhabitants and over, in Ohio in cities having a population of 10,000 and over, in Maine in all cities and in towns having 500 or more voters. In Oklahoma Territory in cities of the first class.

In Missouri it is required in cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over, and in Wisconsin in cities of 2,000 inhabitants or more and in townships of 3,000 inhabitants or more. In New York it is required in cities and villages containing upward of 5,000 population. Personal appearance not required in towns or villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants. In Rhode Island non-taxpayers are required to register yearly before December 31. In Texas in cities of 10,000 inhabitants or more. In South Dakota in cities, but not in country precincts.

In the State of Washington all voters in all cities and towns and all voting precincts having a voting population of 250 or more must be registered.

The registration of voters is not require in the States of Indiana and Oregon. It is prohibited in Arkansas and West Virginia by constitutional provision.

Woman Suffrage.

In 1898 woman suffrage bills were defeated in the legislatures of Massachusetts, Iowa and Ohio.

In Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming women have full suffrage and vote for all officers, including Presidential electors. The Woman Suffrage law was adopted in Wyoming in 1870, and in Colorado in 1893, and woman suffrage is a constitutional provision in Utah.

In Kansas women exercise the suffrage largely in municipal elections.

In some form, mainly as to taxation or the selection of school officers, woman suffrage exists in a limited way in Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

In many European countries, in Australia and New Zealand, in Cape Colony, in Canada, and in parts of India women vote on various terms for municipal or school *officers.*

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES FOR PRESIDENT FROM 1824 TO 1896.

Year of Election	Candidates for President	Political Party	Popular Vote	Plurality	Electoral Vote
1824	Andrew Jackson	R.	155,872	50,551	99
	John Q. Adams*	R.	105,321		84
	Henry Clay	R.	46,587		37
	Wm. H. Crawford	R.	44,282		41
1828	Andrew Jackson*	D.	647,231	138,134	178
	John Q. Adams	N. R.	509,097		83
1832	Andrew Jackson*	D.	687,502	157,313	219
	Henry Clay	N. R.	530,189		49
	John Floyd	I.	33,108		11
	William Wirt	A. M.			7
1836	Martin Van Buren*	D.	761,549	24,803	170
	W. H. Harrison	W.			73
	Hugh L. White	W.	736,656		26
	Daniel Webster	W.			14
	Willie P. Mangum	W.			11
1840	W. H. Harrison*	W.	1,275,017	146,315	234
	Martin Van Buren	D.	1,128,702		60
	James G. Birney	L.	7,059		
1844	James K. Polk*	D.	1,337,243	38,175	170
	Henry Clay	W.	1,299,068		105
	James G. Birney	L.	62,300		
1848	Zachary Taylor*	W.	1,360,101	139,557	163
	Lewis Cass	D.	1,220,544		127
	Martin Van Buren	F. S.	291,263		
1852	Franklin Pierce*	D.	1,601,474	250,896	254
	Winfield Scott	W.	1,350,578		42
	John P. Hale	F. D.	156,149		
	Daniel Webster	W.	1,670		
1856	James Buchanan*	D.	1,838,169	496,905	174
	John C. Fremont	R.	1,341,264		114
	Millard Fillmore	A.	847,538		8
1860	Abraham Lincoln*	R.	1,866,352	491,195	180
	Stephen A. Douglas	D.	1,375,157		12
	J. C. Breckenridge	D.	845,763		72
	John Bell	U.	589,581		39
1864	Abraham Lincoln*	R.	2,216,067	407,042	212
	Geo. B. McClellan	D.	1,808,725		21
1868	Ulysses S. Grant*	R.	3,015,071	305,456	214
	Horatio Seymour	D.	2,709,615		80
1872	Ulysses S. Grant*	R.	3,597,070	662,991	286
	Horace Greeley	D. & L.	2,834,079		
	Charles O'Conor	D.	29,408		
	James Black	T.	5,608		
	Thos. A. Hendricks	D.			42
	B. Gratz Brown	D.			18
	Charles J. Jenkins	D.			2
	David Davis	I.			1
1876	Samuel J. Tilden	D.	4,284,885	250,935	184
	R. B. Hayes*	R.	4,033,950		185
	Peter Cooper	G.	81,740		
	Green Clay Smith	Pr.	9,522		
	James B. Walker	A.	2,636		
1880	James A. Garfield*	R.	4,449,053	7,018	214
	W. S. Hancock	D.	4,442,035		155
	James B. Weaver	G.	307,306		
	Neal Dow	Pr.	10,305		
	John W. Phelps	A.	707		
1884	Grover Cleveland*	D.	4,911,317	62,683	219
	James G. Blaine	R.	4,848,334		182
	John P. St. John	Pr.	151,809		
	Benj. F. Butler	Pe.	133,825		
	P. D. Wigginton	A.	1,500		
1888	Grover Cleveland	D.	5,538,233	98,017	168
	Benj. Harrison*	R.	5,440,216		233
	Clinton B. Fisk	Pr.	249,907		
	Alson J. Streeter	U. L.	148,105		
	R. H. Cowdry	U. L.	2,808		
	James L. Curtis	A.	1,591		
1892	Grover Cleveland*	D.	5,556,918	380,810	277
	Benj. Harrison	R.	5,176,108		145
	James B. Weaver	Pe.	1,041,028		22
	John Bidwell	Pr.	264,133		
	Simon Wing	S. L.	21,164		
1896	Wm. McKinley*	R.	7,104,779	601,854	271
	William J. Bryan	D.	6,502,925		176
	William J. Bryan	Po.			
	Joshua Levering	Pr.	132,007		
	John M. Palmer	N. D.	133,148		
	Chas. H. Matchett	S. L.	36,274		
	Chas. E. Bentley	N.	13,969		

*Successful candidates.

R. Republican. D. Democrat. N. R. National Republican. I. Independent. A. M. Anti-Masonic. W. Whig. L. Liberal. F. S. Free Soil. F. D. Free Democrat. A. American. U. Union. G. Greenback. Pr. Prohibition. Pe. Peoples. S. L. Socialistic Labor. Po. Populist. N. D. National Democrat.

How the President Is Elected.

Members of the Electoral College as Chosen by the States.

While the people elect a President by their votes they do not vote direct for the candidate. The work is done through an Electoral College. In other words, each State puts up a ticket of Presidential Electors, and these cast the vote which finally decides who shall be President and Vice-President.

This ticket is made up so as to give one Elector for each United States Senator and one for each member of Congress. The college, therefore, this year will contain 447 Electors. The successful candidates for President and Vice-President will be required to secure not less than 224.

The college by States is as follows, as based on the apportionment act of February 7, 1891:

State	No. Electors	State	No. Electors	State	No. Electors
Alabama	11	Maryland	8	Pennsylvania	32
Arkansas	8	Massachusetts	15	Rhode Island	4
California	9	Michigan	14	South Carolina	9
Colorado	4	Minnesota	9	South Dakota	4
Connecticut	6	Mississippi	9	Tennessee	12
Delaware	3	Missouri	17	Texas	15
Florida	4	Montana	3	Utah	3
Georgia	13	Nebraska	8	Vermont	4
Idaho	3	Nevada	3	Virginia	12
Illinois	24	New Hampshire	4	Washington	4
Indiana	15	New Jersey	10	West Virginia	6
Iowa	13	New York	36	Wisconsin	12
Kansas	10	North Carolina	11	Wyoming	3
Kentucky	13	North Dakota	3		
Louisiana	8	Ohio	23	Total	447
Maine	6	Oregon	4		

Necessary to choice, 224.

THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION.

The Presidential succession is fixed by chapter 4 of the acts of the Forty-ninth Congress, first session. In case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both the President and Vice-President, then the Secretary of State shall act as President until the disability of the President or Vice-President is removed or a President is elected. If there be no Secretary of State, then the Secretary of the Treasury will act; and the remainder of the order of succession is as follows: The Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of the Interior. The acting President must, upon taking office, convene Congress, if not at the time in session, in extraordinary session, giving twenty days' notice. This act applies only to such cabinet officers as shall have been appointed by the advice and consent of the Senate, and are eligible under the Constitution to the Presidency.

Of the presidents, Adams, federationist; Polk, Buchanan and Cleveland, democrats; Taylor, whig; Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield and Harrison, republicans, did not, when elected, receive a majority of the popular vote. The highest percentage of popular vote received by any president was 55.97 for Jackson, democrat, in 1828, and the lowest 39.91 for Lincoln, republican, in 1860. Hayes and Harrison, with the exception of John Quincy Adams, who was chosen by the house of representatives, were the only presidents ever elected who did not have a majority over their principal competitors, and Tilden and Cleveland the only defeated candidates who had *a majority over* the president-elect.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1896.

States and Territories	Popular Vote						
	Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.	Palmer, N. Dem.	Levering, Pro.	Bentley, Nat.	Matchett Soc. L.	Pluralities.
Alabama	130,307	54,737	6,462	2,147	.....	.....	75,570 B
Arkansas	110,103	37,512	.....	839	893	..	72,591 B
California	143,375	146,170	2,006	2,573	1,047	1,611	2,797 McK
Colorado	161,153	26,271	1	1,717	386	159	134,882 B
Connecticut	56,740	110,285	4,334	1,808	....	1,223	53,545 McK
Delaware	13,424	16,804	877	355	.....	.....	3,630 McK
Florida	32,736	11 288	654	1,778	....	.....	21,448 B
Georgia	94,232	60,091	2,708	5,613	....	.....	34,141 B
Idaho	23,192	6,324	.....	179	.....	.....	16,868 B
Illinois	464,632	607,130	6,390	9,796	793	1,147	142,498 McK
Indiana	305,573	323,754	2,145	3,056	2,267	324	18,181 McK
Iowa	223,741	289,293	4,516	3,192	352	453	65,552 McK
Kansas	171,810	159,541	1,209	1,921	630	.....	12,269 B
Kentucky	217,890	218,171	5,114	4,781	.....	.....	281 McK
Louisiana	77,175	22,037	1,834	.....	.....	.....	55,138 B
Maine	34,688	80,465	1,870	1,570	.....	.....	45,777 McK
Maryland	104,735	136,959	2,507	5,918	136	587	32,224 McK
Massachusetts	105,711	278,976	11,749	2,989	.....	2,114	173,265 McK
Michigan	236,714	293,582	6,879	5,025	1,995	297	56,868 McK
Minnesota	139,626	193,501	3,202	4,343	.....	867	53,875 McK
Mississippi	63,859	5,130	1,071	485	.....	.....	58,729 B
Missouri	363,667	304,940	2,355	2,169	293	596	58,727 B
Montana	42,537	10,494	.....	186	.....	.....	32,043 B
Nebraska	115,880	102,304	2,885	1,193	797	186	13,576 B
Nevada	8,377	1,938	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,439 B
N. Hampshire	21,650	57,444	3,520	779	49	228	35,794 McK
New Jersey	133,675	221,367	6,373	5,614	.....	3,985	87,692 McK
New York	551,369	819,838	18,950	16,052	.....	17,667	268,469 McK
N. Carolina	174,488	155,222	578	675	247	.....	19,266 B
North Dakota	20,686	26,335	.....	358	.....	.....	5,649 McK
Ohio	477,494	525,991	1,857	5.068	2,716	1,167	47,497 McK
Oregon	46,662	48,779	977	919	... ...	.....	2,117 McK
Pennsylvania	433,228	728,300	11,000	19,274	870	1,683	295,072 McK
Rhode Island	14.459	37,437	1,166	1,160	5	558	22,978 McK
S. Carolina	58,798	9,281	828	.....	....	.....	49,517 B
South Dakota	41,225	41,042	... .	685	....	.....	183 B
Tennessee	166,268	148,773	1,951	3,098	.....	.....	17,495 B
Texas	370,434	167,520	5,046	1,786	.....	.....	202,914 B
Utah	64,517	13,484	21	....	.....	....	51,033 B
Vermont	10,637	51,127	1,331	733	.....	.....	40,490 McK
Virginia	154,709	135,368	2,129	2,350	.....	108	19,341 B
Washington	51,646	39.153	1,668	968	148	....	12,493 B
W. Virginia	92,927	104.414	677	1,203	.....	.....	11,487 McK
Wisconsin	165,523	268,135	4,584	7,509	346	1,314	102,612 McK
Wyoming	10,655	10,072	.....	136	.....	.. ..	583 B
Total	6,502,925	7,104,779	133,424	132,007	13,969	36,274	....

*In both California and Kentucky one Bryan candidate for elector was elected.

Popular Vote, McKinley over Bryan	603,514
Popular Vote, McKinley over all	286,728
Electoral Vote, McKinley over Bryan	95
Straight Fusion Vote for Bryan	6,257,198
Straight Populist Vote for Bryan	245,728
Total Popular Vote, 1896	13,923,378

THE STATES OF THE UNION.

THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES.

	STATES	RATIFIED THE CONSTITUTION
1	Delaware	1787, December 7.
2	Pennsylvania	1787, December 12.
3	New Jersey	1787, December 18.
4	Georgia	1788, January 2.
5	Connecticut	1788, January 9.
6	Massachusetts	1788, February 6.
7	Maryland	1788, April 28.
8	South Carolina	1788, May 23.
9	New Hampshire	1788, June 21.
10	Virginia	1788, June 26.
11	New York	1788, July 26.
12	North Carolina	1789, November 21.
13	Rhode Island	1790, May 29.

STATES ADMITTED TO THE UNION.

	STATES	ADMITTED
1	Vermont	1791, March 4.
2	Kentucky	1792, June 1.
3	Tennessee	1796, June 1.
4	Ohio	1802, November 29.
5	Lousiana	1812, April 30.
6	Indiana	1816, December 11.
7	Mississippi	1817, December 10.
8	Illinois	1818, December 3.
9	Alabama	1818, December 14.
10	Maine	1820, March 15.
11	Missouri	1821, August 10.
12	Arkansas	1836, June 15.
13	Michigan	1837, January 26.
14	Florida	1845, March 3.
15	Texas	1845, December 29.
16	Iowa	1846, December 28.
17	Wisconsin	1848, May 29.
18	California	1850, September 9.
19	Minnesota	1858, May 11.
20	Oregon	1859, February 14.
21	Kansas	1861, January 29.
22	West Virginia	1863, June 19.
23	Nevada	1864, October 31.
24	Nebraska	1867, March 1.
25	Colorado	1876, August 1.
26	North Dakota	1889, November 2.
27	South Dakota	1889, November 2.
28	Montana	1889, November 8.
29	Washington	1889, November 11.
30	Idaho	1890, July 3.
31	Wyoming	1890, July 11.
32	Utah	1896, January.

ELECTORAL VOTE IN 1896.

The electoral vote as declared by Congress Jan. 11, 1897, was as follows:

STATES	President.		Vice-President.		
	McKinley.	Bryan.	Hobart.	Sewall.	Watson.
Alabama	.....	11	.....	11	.....
Arkansas	.....	8	.....	5	8
California	8	1	8	1	.....
Colorado	.....	4	.....	3	1
Connecticut	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Delaware	3	.....	3	.....	.....
Florida	.....	4	.....	4	.....
Georgia	.....	13	.....	13	.....
Idaho	.....	3	.....	2	1
Illinois	24	.....	24	.....	.....
Indiana	15	.....	15	.....	.....
Iowa	13	.....	13	.....	.....
Kansas	.....	10	.....	10	.....
Kentucky	12	1	12	1	.....
Louisiana	.....	8	.....	4	4
Maine	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Maryland	8	.....	8	.....	.....
Massachusetts	15	.....	15	.....	.....
Michigan	14	.....	14	.....	.....
Minnesota	9	.....	9	.....	.....
Mississippi	.....	9	.....	9	.....
Missouri	.....	17	.....	13	4
Montana	.....	3	.....	1	2
Nebraska	.....	8	.....	4	4
Nevada	.....	3	.....	3	.....
New Hampshire	4	.....	4	.....	.....
New Jersey	10	.....	10	.....	.....
New York	36	.....	36	.....	.....
North Carolina	.....	11	.....	5	6
North Dakota	3	.....	3	.....	.....
Ohio	23	.....	23	.....	.....
Oregon	4	.....	4	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	32	.....	32	.....	.....
Rhode Island	4	.....	4	.....	.....
South Carolina	.....	9	.....	9	.....
South Dakota	.....	4	.....	4	.....
Tennessee	.....	12	.....	12	.....
Texas	.....	15	.....	15	.....
Utah	.....	3	.....	1	2
Vermont	4	.....	4	.....	.....
Virginia	.....	12	.....	12	.....
Washington	.....	4	.....	2	2
West Virginia	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Wisconsin	12	.....	12	.....	.....
Wyoming	.....	3	.....	2	1
Total	271	176	271	146	30

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

	COUNTRIES.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited-tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	STOCK OF SILVER. Full tender.	STOCK OF SILVER. Limited tender.	STOCK OF SILVER. Total.	Uncovered paper.	PER CAPITA. Gold.	PER CAPITA. Silver.	PER CAPITA. Paper.	PER CAPITA. Total.	
1	United States *	Gold and silver	1 to 15 98	1 to 14.95	71,390,000	$600,100,000	$549,800,000	$75,800,000	$625,600,000	$383,300,000	$8.41	$8.77	$5.37	$22 55	1
2	United Kingdom	Gold	.....	1 to 14.28	38,900,000	†580,000,000	.....	†115,000,000	115,000,000	‡113,400,000	14.91	2.96	2.91	20.78	2
3	France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	38,300,000	†850,000,000	†430,000,000	‡57,900,000	587,900,000	‡32,100,000	22.19	12.94	.84	35.77	3
4	Germany	Gold	.....	1 to 13.957	51,200,000	†625,000,000	†105,000,000	†110,000,000	215,000,000	‡60,400,000	12.21	4.20	1.18	17.59	4
5	Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,300,000	†55,060,000	†48,000,000	†6,900,000	54,900,000	‡65,400,000	8.73	8.71	10.38	27.82	5
6	Italy	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	30,700,000	‡98,200,000	†‡21,400,000	†‡20,000,000	41,400,000	‡191,800,000	3.20	1.35	6.24	10.79	6
7	Switzerland	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3 000,000	‡14,900,000	†10,000,000	5,000,000	15,000,000	.....	4.97	5.00	.....	9.97	7
8	Greece	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2 200,000	†500,000	†500,000	†1,000,000	1,500,000	‡22,400,000	.23	.68	10.18	11.00	8
9	Spain	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14 38	17,500,000	†40,000,000	†126,000,000	†40,000,000	166,000,000	‡83,700 000	2.28	9.49	4.78	16.55	9
10	Portugal	Gold.	.....	1 to 14.08	5,100,000	†38,000,000	.....	†24,800,000	24,800,000	‡55,100,000	7 45	4.86	10.80	23.11	10
11	Roumania	Gold and silver	.....	.....	5,800,000	‡38,600,000	.....	‡10,600,000	10,600,000	‡11,700,000	6.65	1.83	2.02	10.50	11
12	Servia	....do	.....	.....	2,300,000	‡3.000.000	.....	‡1,900,000	1,900,000	†3,800,000	1.30	.83	1.65	3.78	12
13	Austria-Hung'ry	Gold	.....	1 to 13.69	43,500,000	†140 000,000	†80,000,000	†40,000,000	120,000,000	‡204,300,000	3.22	2.76	4.69	10.67	13
14	Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15⅝	1 to 15	4,700,000	‡29,200,000	‡53,000,000	‡3,200,000	56,200,000	‡28,600,000	6.21	11.96	6 08	24.25	14
15	Norway	Gold	.....	1 to 14.88	2,000,000	†7,500 000	.....	†2,000 000	2,000,000	‡3,800,000	3.75	1.00	1.90	6.65	15
16	Sweden	....do	.....	1 to 14.88	4,800,000	‡8,000,000	.....	‡4,800,000	4,800,000	‡2,100,000	1.66	1.00	.43	3.10	16
17	Denmark	....do	.....	1 to 14.88	2,300,000	‡14,500,000	.....	‡5,400,000	5,400,000	‡5,400,000	6.30	2.35	2.35	11.00	17
18	Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 12 90	126,000,000	†480,000 000	.....	†48,000,000	48,000,000	‡539,000,000	3.80	.38	4 28	8.46	18
19	Turkey	Gold and silver	1 to 15⅞	1 to 15⅞	22,000,000	†50,000,000	†30,000,000	‖10,000,000	40,000,000	.....	2.27	1.82	.....	4.09	19
20	Australia	Gold	.....	1 to 14.28	4,700,000	†115,000,000	.....	†7,000,000	7,000,000	.....	24.47	1.49	.....	25.96	20
21	Egypt	....do	.....	1 to 15.68	6,800,000	†120,000,000	.....	†15,000,000	15,000,000	.....	17.65	2.20	.....	19 85	21
22	Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½	.....	12,100,000	†5,000,000	†55,000,000	.....	55,000,000	†2,000,000	.41	4.54	.....	4 95	22
23	Cent. Am. States	....do	1 to 15½	.....	5,600,000	†500,000	†12,000,000	.....	12,000,000	†8,000,000	.09	2.14	1.43	3 66	23
24	So. Am. States	....do§	1 to 15½	.....	36,000,000	†40,000,000	†30,000,000	.....	30,000,000	†550,000,000	1.11	.83	15 28	17.22	24
25	Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18	.....	41,100,000	‡80,000,000	‡68,000 000	‡16,300,000	84,000.000	.....	1.95	2.05	.....	4.00	25
26	India	....do	1 to 15	.....	296 000,000	.....	†950,000,000	.....	950,000 000	†37,000,000	.....	3.21	.12	3.33	26
27	China	Silver	.....	.....	360,000,000	.....	†750,000,000	.....	750.000 000	.....	.....	2.08	.....	2.08	27
28	Str. Settlements	....do.	.....	.....	3,800,000	.....	†115,000,000	.....	115.000 000	.....	.....	3.26	.....	3.26	28
29	Canada	Gold	.....	1 to 14.28	4,800 000	†14,000,000	.....	†5,000,000	5,000,000	†29,000,000	2.92	1.04	6.04	10 00	29
30	Cuba	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	.....	1,800,000	†18,000,000	†1,500,000	.....	1,500,000	.....	10.00	.83	.....	10.83	30
31	Haiti	do	1 to 15½	.....	1,000,000	†3,000,000	†2,100,000	†800,000	2,900,000	‡4,200,000	3.00	2.90	4.20	10.10	31
32	Bulgaria	....do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	4,300,000	†800,000	†3,400,000	3,400,000	6,800,000	.....	.18	1.58	.....	1.76	32
	Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,068,800 000	3,440,700,000	629,800,000	4,070,500,000	2,436,500,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	

* July 1, 1896; all other countries, January 1, 1895. † Estimate, Bureau of the Mint. ‡ Information furnished through United States representatives.
‖ Haupt. § Except Venezuela and Chile.

Monetary System of the United States.

In 1786 the Congress of the Confederation chose as the monetary unit of the United States the dollar of 375.64 grains of pure silver. This unit had its origin in the Spanish piaster or milled dollar, which constituted the basis of the metallic circulation of the English colonies in America. It was never coined, there being at that time no mint in the United States.

The act of April 2, 1792, established the first monetary system of the United States. The bases of the system were: The gold dollar or unit, containing 24.75 grains of pure gold, and stamped in pieces of $10, $5, and $2½, denominated, respectively, eagles, half eagles, and quarter eagles; the silver dollar or unit, containing 371.25 grains of pure silver. A mint was established. The coinage was unlimited and there was no mint charge. The ratio of gold to silver in coinage was 1:15. Both gold and silver were legal tender. The standard was double.

The act of 1792 undervalued gold, which was therefore exported. The act of June 28, 1834, was passed to remedy this, by changing the mint ratio between the metals to 1:16.002. This latter act fixed the weight of the gold dollar at 25.8 grains, but lowered the fineness from 0.916⅔ to 0.899225. The fine weight of the gold dollar was thus reduced to 23.2 grains. The act of 1834 undervalued silver as that of 1792 had undervalued gold, and silver was attracted to Europe by the more favorable ratio of 1:15⅓. The act of January 18, 1837, was passed to make the fineness of the gold and silver coins uniform. The legal weight of the gold dollar was fixed at 25.8 grains, and its fine weight at 23.22 grains. The fineness was, therefore, changed by this act to 0.900 and the ratio 1:15.998-/-.

Silver continued to be exported. The act of February 21, 1853, reduced the weight of the silver coins of a denomination less than $1, which the acts of 1792 and 1837 had made exactly proportional to the weight of the silver dollar, and provided that they should be legal tender to the amount of only $5. Under the acts of 1792 and 1837 they had been full legal tender. By the act of 1853 the legal weight of the half dollar was reduced to 192 grains and that of the other fractions of the dollar in proportion. The coinage of the fractional parts of the dollar was reserved to the Government.

The act of February 12, 1873, provided that the unit of value of the United States should be the gold dollar of the standard weight of 25.8 grains, and that there should be coined besides the following gold coins: A quarter eagle, or 2½-dollar piece; a 3-dollar piece; a half eagle, or 5-dollar piece; an eagle, or 10-dollar piece, and a double eagle, or 20-dollar piece, all of a standard weight proportional to that of the dollar piece. These coins were made legal tender in all payments at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided in the act for the single piece, and when reduced in weight they should be legal tender at a valuation in proportion to their actual weight. The silver coins provided for by the act were a trade dollar, a half dollar, or 50-cent piece, a quarter dollar, and a 10-cent piece; the weight of the trade dollar to be 420 grains troy; the half dollar 12½ grams; the quarter dollar and the dime, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of the half dollar. These silver coins were made legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment. The charge for converting standard gold bullion into coin was fixed at one-fifth of 1 per cent. Owners of silver bullion were allowed to deposit it at any mint of the United States to be formed into bars or into trade dollars, and no deposit of silver for other coinage was to be received.

Section II of the joint resolution of July 22, 1876, recited that the trade dollar should not thereafter be legal tender, and that the Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized to limit the coinage of the same to an amount sufficient to meet the export demand for it. The act of March 3, 1887, retired the trade dollar and prohibited its coinage. That of September 26, 1890, discontinued the coinage of the 1-dollar and 3-dollar gold pieces.

The act of February 28, 1878, directed the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains troy, of standard silver, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837, and that such coins, with all standard silver dollars theretofore coined, should be legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract.

The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized and directed by the first section of the act to purchase from time to time silver bullion at the market price thereof, not less than $2,000,000 worth nor more than $4,000,000 per month, and to cause the same to be coined monthly, as fast as purchased, into such dollars. A subsequent act, that of July 14, 1890, enacted that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as might be offered, each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment thereof Treasury notes of the United States, such notes to be redeemable by the Government, on demand, in coin, and to be legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. The act directed the Secretary of the Treasury to coin each month 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of the act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and thereafter as much as might be necessary, to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued under the act. The purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, was repealed by the act of November 1, 1893.

The act of June 9, 1879, made the subsidiary silver coins of the United States legal tender to the amount of $10. The minor coins are legal tender to the amount of 25 cents.

HEADS OF EXECUTIVE AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS AND LIST OF SALARIES.

	Per Year.
President of the United States	$50,000
Vice-President of the United States	8,000
Secretary of State	8,000
Secretary of the Treasury	8,000
Secretary of War	8,000
Secretary of the Navy	8,000
Secretary of the Interior	8,000
Secretary of Agriculture	8,000
Attorney General	8,000
Postmaster General	8,000
Librarian of Congress	5,000
United States Senators	5,000
Speaker House of Representatives	8,000
Members House of Representatives	5,000
Chief Justice United States Supreme Court	10,500
Associate Justices United States Supreme Court	10,000
Judges United States Circuit Courts	6,000
Judges United States District Courts	5,000

Constitution of the United States.

We, the people *of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.*

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3. (See Article XIV., Amendments.)

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SEC. 4. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House, respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall *take effect shall be approved* by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed

by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. 1. The Congress shall have power: To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline described by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, became the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dry-docks and other needful buildings.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4 No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. *No preference* shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to

the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state.

Sec. 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net proceeds of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. 1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during a term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

3. (The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all of the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should be two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.) (This clause is superseded by Article XII., Amendments.)

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at *the time of the adoption of this* Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of Presi-

dent; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. 1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies betwe-

two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other *mode of ratification may* be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amend*ment which may be made prior to* the year one thousand eight hundred and eight

shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The first *ten* amendments were proposed in Congress during its *first* session, and on the 15th of December, 1791, were ratified. The *eleventh* amendment was proposed during the *first* session of the *Third* Congress, and was announced by the President of the United States in a message to it of date January 8, 1798, as having been ratified. The *twelfth* amendment originated with Hamilton, and was proposed during the *first* session of the Eighth Congress, and was adopted in 1804.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court in the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of *Vice-President of the United States.*

The following amendment was ratified by Alabama, December 2, 1865, which filled the requisite complement of ratifying States, and was certified by the Secretary of State to have become valid as a part of the Constitution of the United States, December 18, 1865:

ARTICLE XIII.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The following amendment was certified by the Secretary of State to have become valid as a part of the Constitution of the United States, July 28, 1868:

ARTICLE XIV.

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

The following amendment was proposed to the Legislatures of the several States by the Fortieth Congress on the 27th of February, 1869, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870, to have been ratified by the Legislatures of twenty-nine of the thirty-seven States:

ARTICLE XV.

1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

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